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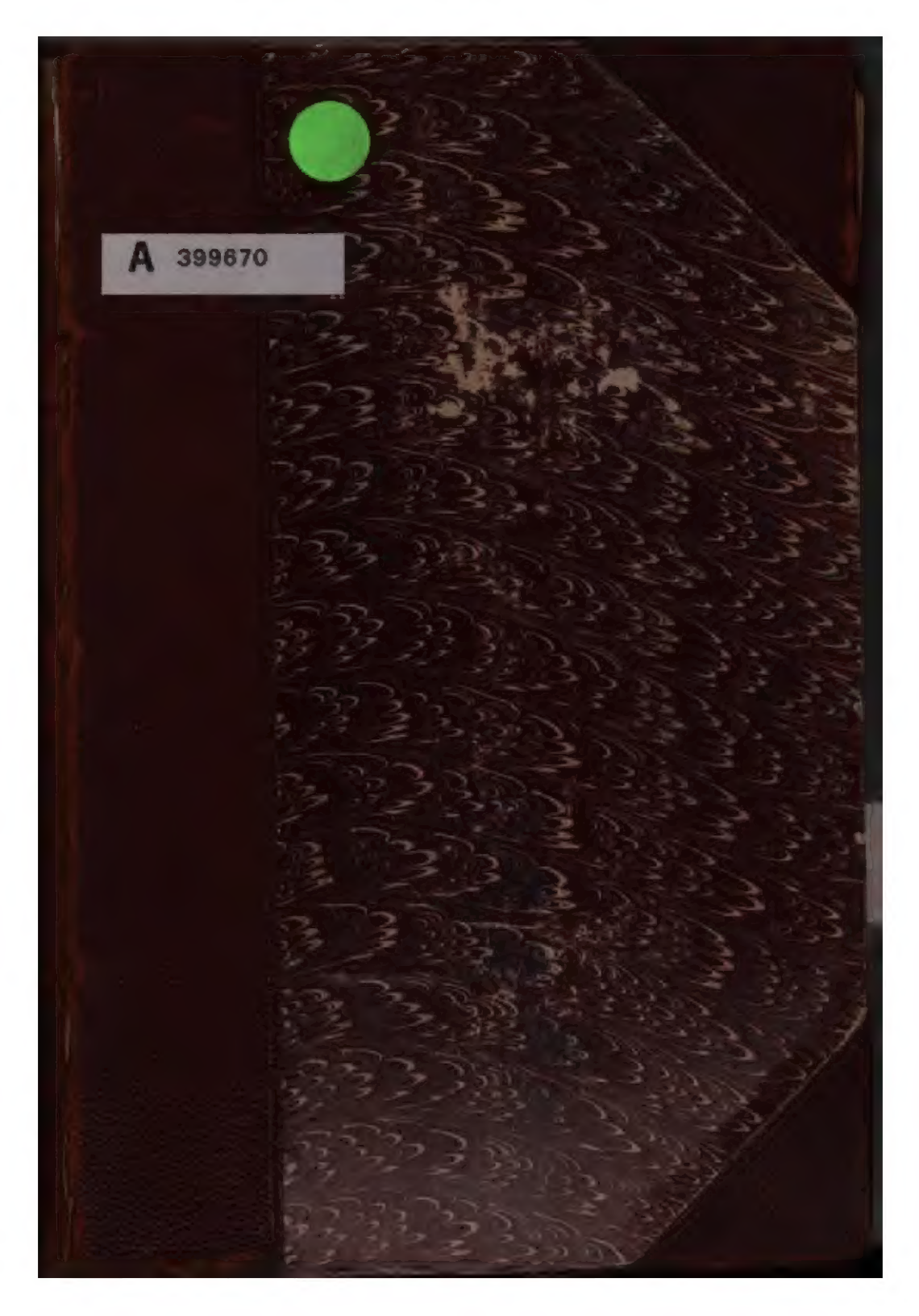
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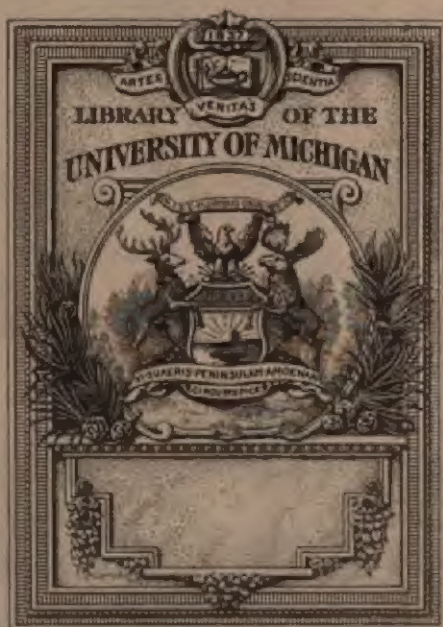
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Grover Cleveland

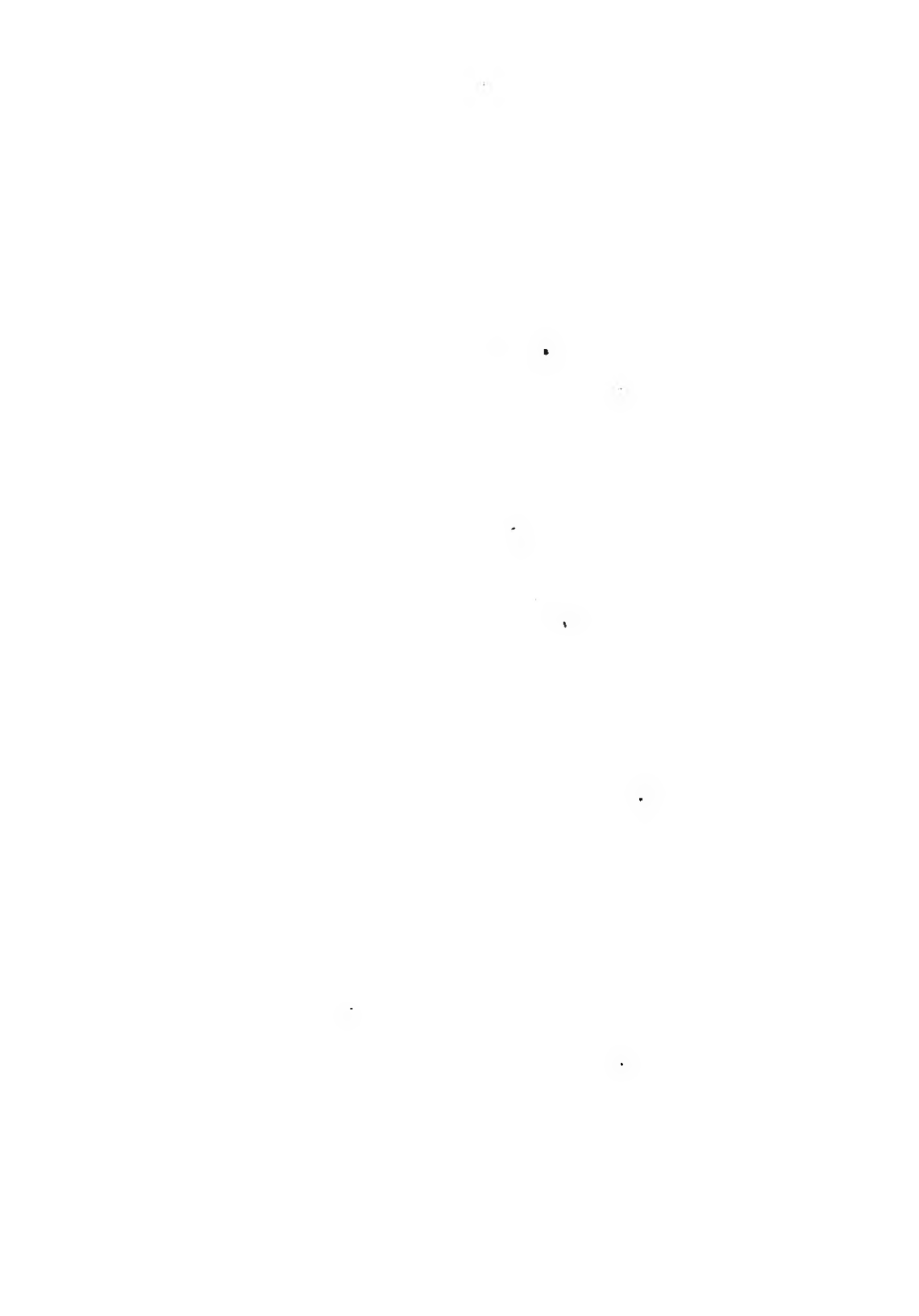


J. A. Hendricks





J. A. Hendricks



ONLY AUTHORIZED AND OFFICIAL EDITION.

29188
AS A MAN, THE NOBLEST AND PUREST OF HIS TIMES.

AS A CITIZEN, THE GRANDEST OF HIS NATION.

AS A STATESMAN, THE IDOL OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
THE GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR,
Hon. Grover Cleveland,
OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

EMBRACING A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE; HIS STRUGGLES WITH
POVERTY AND EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION; HIS AMBITION
AS A STUDENT; HIS EARLY POLITICAL CAREER AND RAPID
ADVANCEMENT; HIS ABLE AND PATRIOTIC RECORD AS
MAYOR OF BUFFALO AND AS GOVERNOR OF THE GREAT
EMPIRE STATE; HIS MANFUL BATTLES WITH
RINGS AND CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES.

BY COL. HERMAN DIECK,

OF THE "PHILADELPHIA DEMOCRAT," THE DISTINGUISHED AND POPULAR WRITER.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

The Life of Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks,
The Statesman Elected in 1876, and Counted Out by Fraud.

The work also contains an account of the election and administration of every President from Washington to Arthur, and fine portraits of all of them, with a history of the National Democratic Conventions from 1832, and a large amount of valuable statistical matter, giving the returns of the votes cast at all our Presidential elections.

Embellished with Fine Steel Portraits of Cleveland and Hendricks
and Numerous Illustrations on Wood.

NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.,

PHILADELPHIA, PA., CHICAGO, ILLS., ST. LOUIS, MO.,
AND ATLANTA, GA.

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TO THE VOTERS
OF THE
Grand Old Democratic Party.

THE PARTY OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, JACKSON AND THEIR
ILLUSTRIOUS COMPEERS;

THE PARTY THAT HAS ALWAYS BATTLED FOR PRINCIPLES
AND OFFICIAL INTEGRITY;

THE PARTY WHOSE NAME IS SYNONYMOUS WITH ALL THAT IS
ENNOBLING IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY;

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,

IN THE HOPE AND WITH THE SINCERE CONVICTION THAT IN NOVEMBER,
1884, ITS ILLUSTRIOUS STANDARD-BEARERS,

GROVER CLEVELAND
AND
THOS. A. HENDRICKS,

WILL BE ELECTED TO THE HIGHEST OFFICES IN THE GIFT OF THE PEOPLE,
THAT CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES MAY BE SUPPLANTED
BY HONESTY AND INTEGRITY.

PREFACE.

THE Democratic National Convention, to nominate candidates for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States, met at Chicago on the 8th day of July, 1884. The party was represented by its ablest men, who either as delegates or as members of political clubs, or as advisers, participated in its deliberations. The Convention nominated, on the second ballot, for the high office of President of the United States,

HON. STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND,

Governor of the great Commonwealth of New York, who had previously carried his native State by the overwhelming majority of 192,854 votes, and who by his ability, integrity and courage had gained many encomiums from political friends as well as adversaries. No person can point to an act of his that can be construed as a bid for the nomination or as an effort to secure it. The Democratic party has great cause to be proud of the moral sense and political sagacity of its leaders, who, on account of Governor Cleveland's admirable record and character, have nominated him for the Presidency, the highest office in the gift of the people.

There was in the great Democratic Convention no real hostility to Governor Cleveland. All opposition to him was coupled with the highest respect and admiration for the man, and was induced only by local attachment to other candidates. The friends of Bayard, Thurman, Randall and Cleveland were in entire sympathy in their gen-

eral views and purposes. They naturally tried their best to promote the candidacy of their friends, but they had no objection to Mr. Cleveland.

The hearty satisfaction with which the nomination of Grover Cleveland has been received is a guarantee of his election in November. It arises from the general conviction that the chief issue of the election is honest and efficient administration, with sole regard to the public welfare. Indeed, he owes his nomination to his spotless character, his career as an executive officer, and to the universal respect and confidence which his conduct has inspired. He was elected Mayor of Buffalo when the intelligent sentiment of the city demanded a reform policy, and a man able and courageous enough to enforce it. He was the candidate of citizens who were resolved that the city government should be conducted for the general welfare, and not for the benefit of rings and traders. He discharged his duties without regard to private interests or his own political or personal profit. He held his office as a public trust, baffling jobbery of all kinds, vetoing doubtful schemes or questionable laws upon clear constitutional and indisputable grounds, and by his direct, honorable and energetic course winning the cordial regard of his fellow-citizens. It was natural that in the decline of great party issues, and in the alarming and dangerous progress of corrupt political methods, the voters of New York, hearing of the administrator of the government of one of the chief cities of the State as a man possessing the very qualities which promised the overthrow of political corruption, should have willingly supported him for Governor of the State. His vast and unprecedented majority attested his popularity in his own State.

Frank and plain in manner, scorning political charlatanism and the arts of a demagogue, his appointments to office, his thorough study of laws submitted to him, his vetoes based upon constitutional grounds and wholly un-

mindful of personal views and wishes, his hearty co-operation with every measure to promote reform in the civil service, and his wise and energetic part in the purification of the unclean and corrupt municipal government of the city of New York, have naturally attracted the attention of the country to a public officer in a most dignified and responsible position whose career shows the qualities which the political situation especially requires.

With Grover Cleveland as its candidate the Democratic party appeals with unmistakable directness to the moral sense of the people of the United States. Shall the next President be a man who has weakly yielded to temptation, or a man who has unwaveringly adhered to the right against great temptations to do wrong? A man who begs pecuniary rewards of those his official action has enriched, or one who defies corrupt dictation and seeks only by a just course to deserve the approval of all honorable and right-thinking men? This is the supreme issue. It is this which the voters of the Republic are to decide. It is not the issue of protection: the tariff has nothing to do with it; the honest convictions and patriotism of ten millions of voters are appealed to, and they will settle this question conclusively and for the right.

It is not only in what he clearly represents, but in what he opposes, that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible position he now occupies as Governor of the great Empire State. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians, and defeated the plans of selfish schemers. All members of his own party who are not striving for private gains, which are in conflict with the public good, are out-spoken in his praise; and he has won the good opinion of all men who are not so biased by partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.

Could a candidate find stronger recommendation than this in the opinion of voters whose political actions are shaped solely by considerations of the public good? The official acts which have won for Governor Cleveland the intense hostility of all jobbers and disreputable men, are the very acts which have most strongly commended him to the support of honest voters.

Mr. Cleveland's associate on the Democratic Presidential ticket is the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, who was defrauded of his election to the office of Vice-President of the United States, together with Mr. Tilden, in 1876. Few men have greater personal popularity than Mr. Hendricks. He is genial, always true to his friends and possesses those qualities which give men a strong hold on the people.

This ticket is one of the strongest ever presented by the Democratic party and will be elected by a large majority.

It is but natural that their countrymen should desire to know the means by which these great men have risen, by their own ability and integrity, to the proudest positions in the Republic, that of being the candidates of the grand old Democratic party for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States. To meet this demand the author has prepared this volume.

The records of Grover Cleveland and the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks are presented in this book clearly and without partiality, that all men may see that their claims to the love and confidence of the American people are justified by their meritorious and faithful service, their ability and integrity, and fearless performance of their official and trying duties in all positions to which they have been elected by the people.



THE WHITE HOUSE, THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND FROM MARCH 4, 1885.



HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE,
of Kentucky.



HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD,
of Delaware.



HON. GEORGE HOADLY,
of Ohio.



HON. SAMUEL J. HANDALL,
of Pennsylvania.



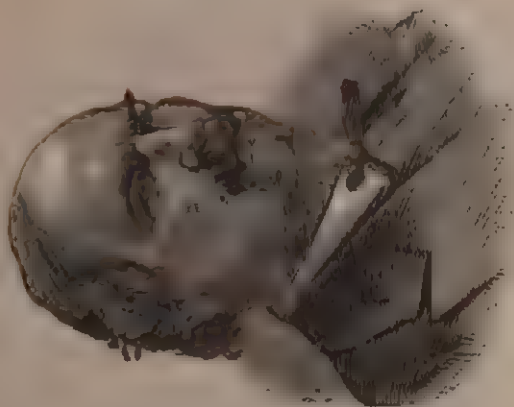
A CALM POLITICAL DISCUSSION



CROWDED HOTELS.



THE CHICAGO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION NOMINATING CLEVELAND AND HENDRICKS.



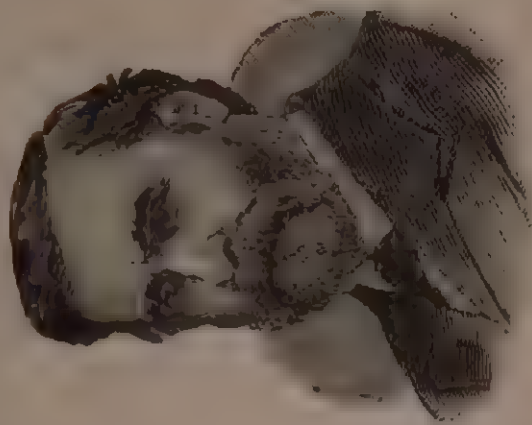
HON. JOSEPH E. McDONALD,
of Indiana.



HON. ALLAN G. THURMAN,
of Ohio.



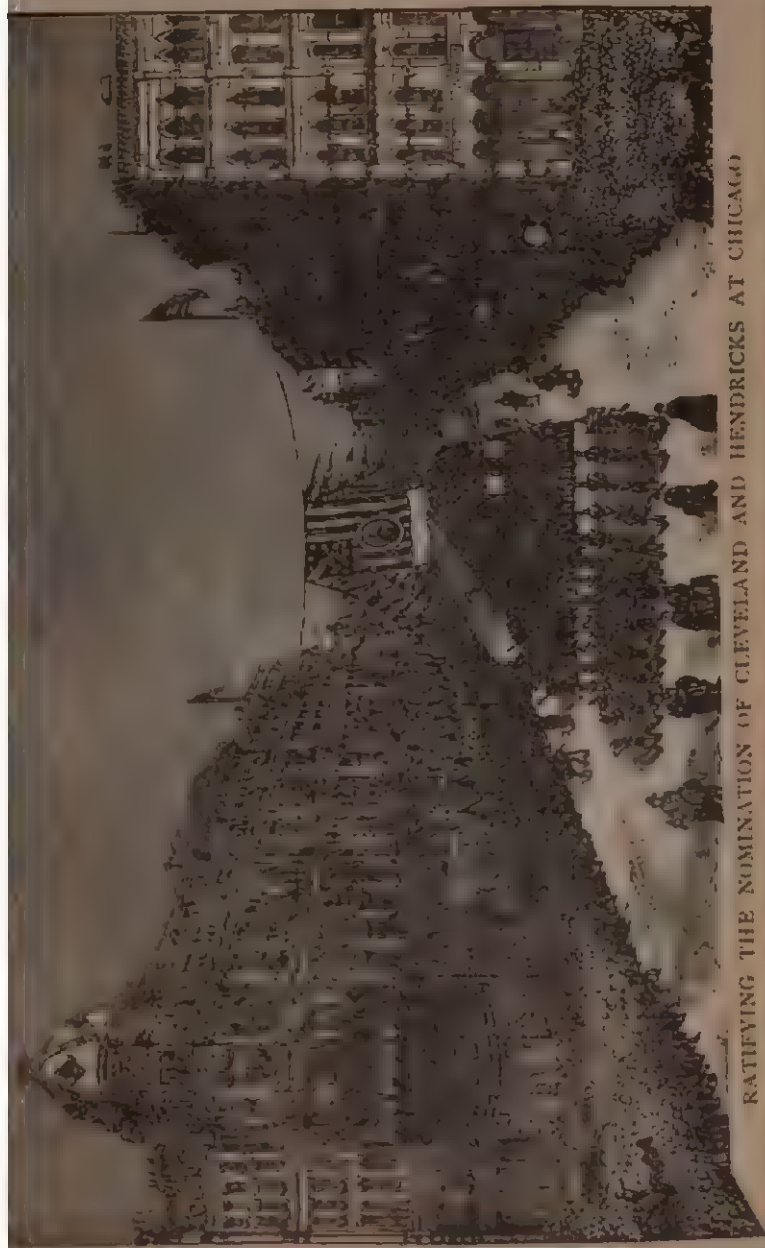
HON. SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
of New York.



HON. WILLIAM E. MORRISON,
of Illinois.



CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON. (P) CITY OF VICE PRESIDENT HENDRICKS' GREAT ACHEVEMENTS AS A STATESMAN



RATIFYING THE NOMINATION OF CLEVELAND AND HENDRICKS AT CHICAGO



"THE GOVERNOR IS ENGAGED, SAM."



MOUNT VERNON—THE HOME OF OUR FIRST PRESIDENT.



PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO—THE HEADQUARTERS DURING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.



RECEPTION OF THOMAS A. HENDRICKS ON HIS ARRIVAL AT THE RAILROAD DEPOT
IN INDIANAPOLIS ON HIS RETURN FROM THE CHICAGO CONVENTION



THE OLD STATE HOUSE--WHERE INDEPENDENCE WAS DECLARED.



CARPENTER'S HALL—WHERE THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET.



THE NATIONAL MUSEUM—IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND SOON AFTER HIS NOMINATION.



THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND,

NOMINATED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION FOR THE
OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE—HIS FATHER A PRESBY-
TERIAN MINISTER—THE HOUSE WHERE HE WAS BORN—
HIS RELATIVES—HE FINDS EMPLOYMENT IN A COUNTRY
STORE—HIGHLY RECOMMENDED BY HIS EMPLOYER—HE
ATTENDS THE ACADEMY AT CLINTON, ONEIDA COUNTY,
N. Y.—TEACHES IN AN ASYLUM FOR THE BLIND—HE
GOES TO BUFFALO, N. Y.—CLERK AND LAW STUDENT—
A SELF-MADE MAN—ADMITTED TO THE BAR—ASSIST-
ANT DISTRICT-ATTORNEY FOR ERIE COUNTY—NOMI-
NATED FOR DISTRICT-ATTORNEY.

THE Hon. Grover Cleveland, Governor of the
great State of New York, who is presented to the
voters of the different States of the Union by the
National Democratic Convention, which met at
Chicago on the 8th day of July, 1884, as its candi-
date for the high office of President of the United
States, was born at Caldwell, Essex County, New
Jersey, now a town of 2,700 inhabitants, about
nine miles from Newark, on the 18th day of
March, 1837. He is a descendant of a New Eng-

land family, that traces its lineage through more than two hundred years in this country. His family has been noted for religious knowledge, having had several distinguished representatives in the clerical profession.

THE HOUSE WHERE GROVER CLEVELAND WAS BORN.

The first house that is seen in the little village of Caldwell approaching from Montclair is situated on the left-hand side of the road. For years the old-fashioned house, with its quaint gable-ends and ivy-covered porch, has only attracted the attention of the villagers as the parsonage of the First Presbyterian church, but lately it has become of more interest. It is the birthplace of the Democratic candidate for President, Stephen Grover Cleveland. The Rev. C. T. Berry, the pastor of the church, lives in the old parsonage, and thither the writer went for information. The house sets back from the road about a hundred feet, and two noble ash trees stand like sentinels before it. The grounds, which contain about two acres, are well kept, and the whole place has an air of neatness and respectability. The house itself is a two-story-and-a-half, with a front porch and low windows. The front door opens into a spacious hall and the rooms on each side of it are cosy and comfortable. The ceilings are low. The doors are very wide and the whole place savors of antiquity.

"I suppose I shall have numerous callers now,"

said Mr. Berry. "This is the house in which Governor Cleveland was born. It was first occupied by Stephen Grover, a former pastor of the church. In 1834 Mr. Grover resigned the pastorate, and Richard F. Cleveland was called on May 13th of the same year. Mr. Cleveland had many children, one of whom, William M., became a minister and went to Long Island. In the old church baptismal record we find the record of the birth and baptizing of the Democratic nominee;" and Mr. Berry pointed to an entry which reads as follows: "Stephen Grover Cleveland, baptized July 1, 1837; born March 18th, 1837."

"During his six years' pastorate," said Mr. Berry, "Mr. Cleveland's father had a child baptized every year. When Grover Cleveland was elected Governor of New York I wrote and told him that I had these interesting facts, and he sent me a very graceful reply. Here is the room in which Governor Cleveland was born," and Mr. Berry pushed open a door and led the reporter into a room now used as a library. The room was about fifteen feet square, with two windows and a low ceiling.

Marcus Harrison, an old resident of Caldwell, said that he remembered when Parson Cleveland lived down in the old parsonage. "It would be impossible," he added, "to keep account of his children. Young Grover, as we called him, was then just toddling around in frocks. He was named

after Stephen Grover, the predecessor of his father in the pastorate of the church."

As intimated by Dr. Berry's remarks, there is quite a rivalry between the residents of the two ends of the village over the birthplace of the Governor. An old house that stands on the other side of the town is pointed out by some of those residing near it as his birthplace, but there is no doubt that the parsonage the Rev. Mr. Berry occupies is entitled to the honor.

THE CLEVELAND HOMESTEAD.

At Holland Patent, N. Y.

On the first corner as one passes through the village of Holland Patent, on the road from Utica to Trenton Falls, stands an old brown house. The structure shows at a glance that it was built years ago, when carpenters put beams in wooden houses and when balloon frames were unknown. The upright part is two stories, and its proportions offer commodious accommodations for a large family. A generous wing affords a sitting-room and other apartments. It was to this house that, over thirty years ago, the Rev. R. F. Cleveland brought his family. He came to occupy the pulpit of the Presbyterian church at Holland Patent as the regular pastor. A man of more than ordinary ability, possessed of a fine voice, a bright mind, and a clear head, he found favor with his parishioners. He was a Presbyterian in all that the

term implies, and believed the teachings of that church. He was withal a man of broad and liberal culture and liberal in ideas as well. As he went in and out among his people they came to admire his personal and social qualities in a degree second only to their admiration for his talents as displayed in the desk. His home-life was a model of consistency and uprightness, and he brought up his children in the way they should go. Well educated himself, he secured for them the same advantages. By precept and example he sought to make of them such men and women as in after life would be a credit to the name he had given them. One has to talk but a moment to any of the older residents of Holland Patent to learn the esteem in which they hold the memory of the Rev. Mr. Cleveland. Unfortunately for the church which prospered under his guidance, and for the members who revered and loved him, in less than six months from the commencement of his labors in that village the pastor ended his work on earth, and a village of mourners followed his mortal remains to the cemetery and laid them to rest.

Mrs. Anna Cleveland was left with a family of nine children to watch over and prepare for the duties of active life. The children were of no ordinary cast. As a white-haired man who had lived a neighbor to them for thirty years said yesterday, "Such a woman could not have bad children." Mrs. Cleveland was in all respects a su-

perior woman. In appearance she was dignified and with a kindly face, and at any gathering she would be noticed. Her children loved and respected her, and to the day of her death bestowed upon her the tokens of their affection. Home to them was always the most attractive place on earth, a very haven of rest. And so she lived until April 19th, 1882, when, at the age of seventy-eight years, her life-work was ended, and she, too, was laid to rest in the village burial-plot.

The children of the family in the order of their ages are: Mrs. Hastings, who married a missionary to the Island of Ceylon. The Rev. William Cleveland, who is now preaching with great acceptance in the village of Forestport, in this county. The Hon. Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Richard Cecil Cleveland, who was lost at the burning of the ship Missouri, off the Island of Abaco, Oct. 22d, 1872. Mrs. Hoyt, whose husband was formerly of Theresa, but is now a business man in Fayetteville. Mrs. Louisa Bacon, a most amiable and attractive lady, whose husband is an architect in Toledo, Ohio. Lewis Frederick Cleveland, who had marked ability as a business man. He was, moreover, a jovial and wonderfully agreeable gentleman, who made friends wherever he went. He leased a large boarding house at Nassau and made it very popular. Frederick was drowned with his brother at the burning of the

Missouri. Mrs. Susan Youmans lives at Walruth, Wayne county. Her husband has represented his district in the State Legislature. He is also a heavy owner in Holstein stock. Miss Elizabeth Cleveland remains at the old homestead. Just now she is the guest of her brother in Albany. Miss Cleveland is a talented lady and has great ability as a writer.

AT HIS OLD HOME.

Gov. Cleveland has not been much in Holland Patent, as from the time his parents moved there to the present he has been elsewhere occupied. But never did he allow a long time to elapse without paying a visit to his mother, for whom he had the tenderest affection. When home he was always doing something to render the house or grounds more attractive. He held it sufficient reward if the result of his efforts warranted and received his mother's commendation. At least twice each year he took the time to visit the old homestead. When in Holland Patent he often took his gun and with a neighbor, who is an expert with gun and rod, would pass a day in the forest and fields. A gentleman who often hunted with the Governor said recently: "He was a good shot, just as he was good at whatever he undertook." Another characteristic which is very noticeable is that Grover Cleveland is a very plain man, and not given to any false pride on account of his station.

As Mayor of Buffalo or Governor of the State he was the same among his friends at Holland Patent as, when a law student making his way in the world, he came here for a brief vacation. He is essentially a man of the people, and looks on all men as equal. The people of that village know him as a man and for him they all have a kindly word. The news of his nomination was joyfully received, and many an old-time Republican will vote for Grover Cleveland.

The graves of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland are side by side in a well-kept lot of the Holland Patent Cemetery. The children have erected a beautiful monument to mark the spot. The stone bears this inscription :

Rev. R. F. CLEVELAND.

Pastor at
Holland Patent,
Died Oct. 1, 1853,
Aged 49 years.

ANNA NEAL,
Wife of

R. F. Cleveland,
Died July 10, 1882,
Aged 78 years.

Her children rise up
And call her blessed.

The same stone also bears an inscription to the memory of the brothers, Richard C. and Lewis F., aged thirty-seven and thirty-one years respectively,

who were drowned at sea when the steamship Missouri was burned off the island of Abaco, Oct. 22d, 1872. Below are the words :

"Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."

Said a man who knew both the brothers: "Their action at the burning of the ship was characteristic of the whole family. When the ship caught fire there was a panic among the passengers. The officers of the vessel were incompetent and as frightened as the rest. Amid the confusion Cecil found his brother Fred, and together they stood by when the boats were lowered and helped the terror-stricken passengers into them, doing the work the recreant Captain should have done. When the boats were filled there was no room for them, and together they went down."

MR. CLEVELAND'S PARENTAGE.

Mr. Cleveland's great-grandfather, Aaron Cleveland, was a Congregational preacher of Norwich, Connecticut. He was a strong man, both mentally and physically, and a hundred years ago he was the author of many radical anti-slavery papers which attracted much attention. A great-uncle of the Governor, known as "Father Cleveland," was for many years a city missionary in and about Boston. Grover Cleveland's grandfather, William Cleveland, was a merchant of his native town of Norwich, Conn., where he brought up a large

family, one of his children being Richard Cleveland, father of the present Democratic nominee for the Presidency. Richard was born at Norwich and was educated for the ministry, embracing the Presbyterian faith. Another of Aaron's sons, William, a silversmith, was deacon of the Congregational Church at Norwichtown for twenty-five years previous to his death in 1837. The youngest of Aaron Cleveland's thirteen children was the wife of Dr. Samuel H. Coxe, whose son, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, became Episcopal Bishop of Western New York. Grover Cleveland's father was Richard Falling Cleveland, the second son of Wm. Cleveland, the son of the silversmith. After graduating at Yale in 1824, the Governor's father taught school in Baltimore, studied theology at Princeton, and became a Presbyterian clergyman at Windham, near Norwich, in 1828. He married a daughter of Abner Neal, of Baltimore, in 1829, preached a short time in Portsmouth, Va., and then settled in Caldwell, Essex county, N. J., where Grover Cleveland was born in 1837. The baptismal name was Stephen Grover Cleveland, but at an early age the Stephen was dropped, and afterward the Governor has been known as Grover Cleveland.

The Governor's parents had nine children. Anna, the eldest, was the wife of Dr. Hastings, missionary to Ceylon; William N. is a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, N. Y.; Mary became Mrs. W. E. Hoyt; Cecil and Frederick were proprietors of a

popular winter resort at Nassau, and lost their lives at the burning of the steamship *Missouri* off the Bahamas in 1872; Margaret became Mrs. N. B. Bawn; Susan is the wife of L. Youmans, and another sister, Rose, is unmarried.

Governor Cleveland has only the most shadowy recollection of his native town, for, when he was but three years of age, his father with a large family and a small income moved by way of the Hudson River and Erie Canal to Fayetteville, Oneida county, N. Y. in search of an increased income and a more extended field of labor.

Fayetteville was then the most straggling of country villages—about five miles from Pompey Hill where Governor Seymour was born. Here the boy Grover Cleveland first went to school in the good old-fashioned way, and presumably distinguished himself after the manner of all village boys in doing all the things that he ought not to do.

At the age of fourteen, Grover, having gone through the course of study at the village school, was very anxious to secure the advantages of an academic training; but his father could not see things in the same light. He was hardly able to support his family, and wanted his boy to become self-supporting as soon as possible.

CLEVELAND GENEALOGY.

The nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for President has led us to

make some investigation of his genealogy, with the following results :

Moses Cleveland came to this country an apprentice to a "joyner" in 1635, and established himself in Woburn in 1648. He married Ann, daughter of Edward Winn, Sept. 26, 1648.

He had a son Aaron (second generation), who was born Jan. 10, 1654-5. This son married Dorcas Wilson, Sept. 26, 1675. She died Nov. 29, 1714. He died Sept. 14, 1716.

He in turn had a son, Aaron (third generation), who was born July 9, 1680. He was a carpenter, and lived in Woburn, Cambridge, and Charlestown. In 1738 he removed to Haddam, Conn. He married Abigail —.

He had a son, the Rev. Aaron (fourth generation), who was born Oct. 29, 1715, graduated at Harvard 1735, settled at Haddam, Conn., in July, 1739, and married, Aug. 4, 1739, Susanna, daughter of the Rev. Aaron Porter, born March 1, 1716. He died Aug. 11, 1757. His widow died at Salem, 1788.

He had a son, the Rev. Aaron (fifth generation), who was born at Haddam, Conn., Feb. 3, 1744, and died at New Haven Sept. 21, 1815. He was married, April 12, 1768, to Abiah Hyde, only daughter of James and Sarah (Marshall) Hyde, of Norwich, Conn. His wife died Aug. 23, 1788.

He had a son, Charles (sixth generation), who was born at Norwich, June 11, 1772. He married, Dec. 17, 1797, Mehitable Treadwell, of Salem, a sister of the late Dr. John D. Treadwell. Charles was for several years a commission merchant in Salem, and afterward the well-known city mis-

sionary of Boston. He died June 5, 1872, within 16 days of 100 years of age.

His brother William (sixth generation) was born at Norwich, Dec. 20, 1770; married, Dec. 19, 1793, Margaret Falley. They lived at Worthington and Salem, Mass., and at Norwich, Conn. He died Aug. 18, 1837. She died Aug. 13, 1850.

His son, Richard Falley (seventh generation) was born June 19, 1805, at Norwich, Conn. He married Anne Neale, of Baltimore, Md. They removed to Holland Patent, N. Y., where he died Oct. 1, 1853.

His son Grover (the candidate) was born March 18, 1837.

This family of Clevelands spell the name without the *a* in the first syllable. The descendants of the Rev. John, of Essex, generally insert the *a* in the first syllable. He was a grandson of Samuel, of Chelmsford and Canterbury, Conn., who was the third son of Moses, the immigrant ancestor first above mentioned.

CLERK IN A COUNTRY STORE.

Grover accordingly entered a country store, where he faithfully discharged the various and arduous duties incident to his position to the satisfaction of his employer. Fifty dollars were to be paid to the boy the first year, and if he proved trustworthy, he was to receive one hundred dollars the second year.

Dr. D. P. Hutchins, an old resident of Fayetteville, who had an office in Deacon McVicar's store when Grover was a clerk there, when asked for

some reminiscences of the Governor's boyhood, said that "Grove," as they used to call him, was always considered a good boy, courteous and dignified in his manners and was exceedingly popular. He held his position in the store about one year. He made an efficient clerk and was highly recommended by Mr. McVicar when he left the latter's employ.

H. Howard Edwards, also a long resident and a playmate of the Governor's, when questioned concerning his recollections of Cleveland's boyhood, said there was nothing during the time he lived here to indicate his future distinction. "Why," said Mr. Edwards, "we used to be together constantly, go a-fishing together, sleep together, play and eat together, and I cannot recall anything that impressed me with his future greatness. He was very slim when he was a boy, short and had small features. He was full of fun, and, I tell you, we had lots of fun together."

Captain H. S. Pratt, another old resident, was found in bed, but ready to talk about Grover Cleveland. "'Grove' was one of the finest boys I ever knew. Everybody respected him, even the 'old folks,' and you never heard of a practical joke on him. He was chuck-full of fun and I recollect he had a great weakness for ringing the school bell when he got a chance. He and his brother 'Will' used to have a long rope attached to the hammer of the bell, and the way they used to make that bell ring after dark was a caution."

There is a warm feeling towards the Cleveland family here on the part of all who remember them.

When Grover's father removed to a larger and more important charge at Clinton, Oneida county, the opportunity to attend an academy presented itself to Grover Cleveland. This was duly improved, and here the foundation of his future success was laid. He pursued his studies until the family moved up on the Black river to what was then known as the Holland Patent—a village of five or six hundred people—fifteen miles north of Utica. The elder Cleveland preached but three Sundays in this place, when he suddenly died. Grover first heard of his father's death while walking with his sister in the streets of Utica. This event produced the usual break-up of the family, and we next hear of Grover Cleveland setting out for New York city to accept at a small salary the position of underteacher in an asylum for the blind, where at the time the since well-known Gus. Schell was executive officer.

He continued in this work two years to the great satisfaction of his employers, several of whom are still alive and bear testimony to his zeal and the faithful and efficient performance of his duties.

But to teach he did not believe was his mission, and consequently at the expiration of two years he abandoned it and literally started out to seek his fortune—only reversing the usual order, and in-

stead of coming to the great city he left it. His first idea was to go to Cleveland. As he has since said, the name seemed a good omen. But his uncle, Lewis F. Allan, a noted stock-breeder, lived at Buffalo, and he went straight to him for advice and guidance.

The uncle did not speak enthusiastically. "What is it you want to do, my boy?" he asked

"Well, sir, I want to study law."

"Good gracious!" remarked the old gentleman.

"Do you indeed? What ever put that into your head? How much money have you got?"

To tell the truth he hadn't any.

"See here," said the uncle, after a long consultation. "I want somebody to get up my herd-book this year. You come and stay with me and help me and I'll give you \$50 for the year's work and you can look round."

STUDYING LAW AND EDITING A STOCK-BOOK.

Here it is that we find the American boy now annotating short-horns out at Black Rock, quite two miles from Buffalo. But he kept his eye open for a chance to enter a law office while he was editing the stock-book, and one day he walked boldly into the rooms of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, and told them what he wanted. There were a number of young men in the place already. But young Cleveland's persistency won, and he was finally permitted to come as an office boy and have the

use of the law library. For this he received the nominal sum of \$3 or \$4 a week, out of which he had to pay his board and washing. The walk to and from his uncle's was a long and at that time a rugged one. The first winter was a memorably severe one, and his shoes were broken, and he had no overcoat. But he never intermitted a day. It began to be noticed that he was the most punctual and regular of the lads in the office. Often at night he was compelled to stand by the warm chimney in the loft where he slept and dry his feet after tramping the two miles through the snow. His senior employer had taken a copy of Blackstone on the first day of the boy's office experience, and, planting it before him with a bang that made the dust fly, said:—"That's where they all begin." There was a titter ran round the little circle of clerks, for it was a foreboding thing to begin with to the average lad. It appears, however, that he stuck to the Blackstone so well that he mastered it, and so absorbed was he in it one night that they locked him in and all went off. He spent that night with the book and never forgot it.

This uneventful period of Grover Cleveland's life, so devoid of adventure and barren of romance, was the period at which all the forces of his later life were gestating. The privations and miseries of a penniless novitiate gave way slowly before his determined assiduity and pluck. He tells in his own way with a beaming, reminiscent humor of the

first honor that came to him when his uncle, in getting out the second volume of his "Breed Book," announced to him that he intended to acknowledge in it his valuable assistance. But these privations and miseries, it may readily be seen by the temperament of the man, were only so many stimuli. His was not the hypersensitive nature that winced and wore under physical discomforts.

PAYING AN OLD DEBT.

It must have been about this time, or just as he was to set out from home on his journey West, that he borrowed from the Hon. Ingham Townsend, of Floyd, Oneida county, a certain sum of money, to which the following letter, written many years afterward (it was on Jan. 23, 1867), refers :

I am now in condition to pay my note, which you hold given for money borrowed some years ago. I suppose I might have paid it long before, but I have never thought you were in need of it and I had other purposes for my money. I have forgotten the date of the note. If you will send me it I will mail you the principal and interest. The loan you made me was my start in life, and I shall always preserve the note as an interesting reminder of your kindness. Let me hear from you soon. With many kind wishes to Mrs. Townsend and your family, I am yours, very respectfully,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Townsend died in the town of Floyd in March, 1883, so that he had lived long enough to

see the recipient of his bounty elected Governor of the State of New York. His age was then 81, and he had in his time assisted many young men with money to make their first start in the world. When he gave the money to young Cleveland he told him he need never return it, but that, should he ever meet a young man in need as he himself had been, he might turn the money over to him should he have it to spare. Grover Cleveland had not been long in this law office at Buffalo when the firm engaged him at a fixed, liberal salary, and found that he was entirely capable of earning it.

"See here," said his uncle to him one bitter December night when the lad had walked out to Black Rock through the sleet and snow: "this is pretty cold weather for you to be travelling without an overcoat."

"Oh," says the young man, "I'm going to buy one when I earn the money."

"Why, look at your feet; they must be sopping, eh!"

"Oh, that's nothing. I'm getting some copying to do now and I'll have a pair of boots by-and-by."

In those days boys had to demonstrate what was in them before they received many favors.

"You just go right over there to the tailor's and get the stoutest overcoat he's got. D'ye hear?"

Very likely Grover had begun to demonstrate what was in him, but whether to the mind of the

uncle it was a capacity for compiling herd books or the capacity to contain Blackstone cannot now be learned.

Four years in the office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers as a student equipped him with sufficient elementary knowledge and experience to become managing clerk at the end of that time. And so four years more pass. It is interesting to know exactly what kind of character he had now made for himself and how he was regarded by his associates. It is not difficult to ascertain this with reasonable accuracy, seeing that most of those associates are alive and accessible and speak with noticeable candor and unanimity.

Said one of them to the writer: "Grover won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was, he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind—and then nothing could swerve him from his conviction. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps that made him afterwards listened to and respected when more brilliant men who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

It was about the year 1858 that the young student secured admission to the bar. He had been four years with the Rogers firm, and after his admission

he remained with them four years longer, thus securing a thorough training and equipment for his profession.

THE FIRST STEP INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

In 1863 the question of who should be appointed Assistant District-Attorney for the county of Erie was warmly discussed by the young lawyers in Messrs. Rogers & Bowen's offices. There were several that were both eligible and anxious, but it does not appear that young Cleveland advanced his own claims. Indeed, it is a fact that after the matter had been pretty well canvassed they all agreed that he was the person that ought to have it and they urged him to accept it. This simple incident speaks volumes for the already developed character of the young man. He was appointed and from that moment his public record began. During the three years that he was in the District Attorney's office the great bulk of its duties fell upon his shoulders, and then it was that his enormous vital strength and tireless industry made themselves felt. One may say now that it is well perhaps that the District-Attorney himself was rather disposed to let youth and vigor shoulder the great part of the responsibility. It was just the training that young Cleveland needed, and he went into it with his coat off.

There is nothing discreditable about Gov. Cleveland's war record. At the opening of the war it

was a question whether he should go to the army or not. He was entirely ready and willing to do so, but his father had died some time before and left a widowed mother, poor and with a large family, several of whom were daughters. Provision had to be made for their support, and yet the family felt obliged to contribute in some way to the cause of the Union. A sort of family council was held. Grover had just been admitted to the bar at Buffalo and was beginning to have some practice. Two younger brothers volunteered to go to the army and leave Grover at home to support their mother and sisters. This was agreed to all around, and the two brothers went to the front and served with honor till the war closed. When peace was declared they returned home, but were soon afterwards lost at sea. Grover Cleveland was the first man drafted in Buffalo. He promptly supplied a substitute, who made a faithful soldier. Gov. Cleveland has always been a friend of the soldiers, and was a war Democrat. While Mayor of Buffalo there was an attempt to make capital out of the fact that he had vetoed a bill appropriating public money for a soldiers' monument in the city. When the facts came out it proved to be true that he did veto such a bill, and that he did it on the ground that the City Council had no right to appropriate public funds for a purpose of that kind, but he suggested that the result might be reached by a public subscription. The hint was

adopted, a subscription paper was taken around and the first and largest subscriber was Mayor Cleveland. Since he has been Governor of New York he has approved a bill providing that the heads of the various State departments shall, when making appointments, give preference to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States. Some irritation was created last winter because of his vetoing a bill in reference to Grand Army badges. In the bill was a provision making the wearing of such a badge by any person not entitled to do so by reason of membership of some post a crime, punishable by imprisonment. The Governor thought the penalty unnecessarily severe. It was also logically observed that the child of a veteran might be imprisoned for wearing his father's badge.

So faithfully had he conducted the affairs of the county that at the end of three years he was nominated by the Democrats for the District-Attorneyship. Here, again, it is an indisputable fact that he did not solicit the nomination, hesitated to accept it, and did not turn his hand over to secure his election. It is said in Buffalo that on the day of election he was trying a case in court while his friends were electioneering for him on the street, and the Judge on the Bench, who was presumably an admirer of his, peremptorily adjourned the case and told Cleveland to go and attend to his interests.

In this, his first appearance as a candidate for

office, he was defeated, his opponent being the Hon. Lyman K. Bass, whose majority, however, was not large. The year following his defeat Mr. Cleveland formed a partnership in the law with the late Mayor I. V. Vanderpoel, but on the election of Mr. Vanderpoel as Police Justice soon afterward he became a member of the firm of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom, of which the head was the late Senator A. P. Laning.

CHAPTER II.

SHERIFF, MAYOR AND GOVERNOR.

ELECTED SHERIFF OF ERIE COUNTY—HOW HE CONDUCTED HIS OFFICE—HE RESUMES HIS PRACTICE OF THE LAW—ELECTED MAYOR OF REPUBLICAN BUFFALO BY 5000 MAJORITY—HIS MODEL ADMINISTRATION—AN ENEMY OF ALL WASTEFUL AND CORRUPT MEASURES—HIS FEARLESS VETOES AND STRICT ATTENTION TO HIS DUTIES—HIS VIEWS ON CITIZENSHIP—ELECTED GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK BY THE UNPRECEDENTED MAJORITY OF 192,854 VOTES—HIS ADMINISTRATION—UNASSUMING, INDUSTRIOUS, CIVIL, JUST, CAREFUL, KIND, POLITE, ABOVE SUSPICION—THE ADMIRABLE CHARACTER OF HIS SELECTIONS FOR OFFICE.

IN the fall of 1870 found Grover Cleveland again a candidate for a local office, that of High Sheriff of Erie County, New York State, and he was elected after a vigorous canvass; in which capacity he served faithfully for a term of three years, filling the office with conspicuous credit and dignity. A special correspondent of the *New York World* writes in regard to this period of Mr. Cleveland's career in the following well-chosen words:

Just now, when everything hangs by a thread at Chicago, Buffalo is talking of many things which befell its model Mayor, the State's model Governor and whom many thousands of warm personal

friends here hope to vote for as the nation's reform President—Grover Cleveland. It was as Sheriff of Erie County that the Governor became known in a political or official way, and many interesting anecdotes are told by those who remember those days. During his term of office as Sheriff the Governor swung two men into eternity. The first one was the notorious Jack Gaffney, a reckless young fellow who kept a saloon at the corner of Washington and Carrol streets, almost opposite the *Courier* office. Gaffney was seated in a low dive on Canal street—"Ted" Sweeney's—playing cards with a kindred spirit named Fahey. The two quarrelled over the stakes and Gaffney shot and killed Fahey in cool blood. He was sentenced by the General Term in December to hang February 7, following. During these two months there was the greatest efforts made on the part of the reporters to find out how the condemned man spent his time, but the sheriff turned a deaf ear to them, and not a few times gave them to understand that they wanted to know too much. He kept them out of the jail entirely after a while and they were in sore straits. The interest in the case was intensified at the last from the fact that Gov. Hoffman respited the condemned for a week, and that the most strenuous efforts were made to get a commutation of sentence for the doomed man. Meanwhile the solid old sheriff was more rigid in his discipline than ever, and he even went so far as to

station a man outside with strict orders to keep reporters off the premises. This outside guard was used to relieve the guard inside Gaffney's cell, so that he was well posted on what was going on inside. One of the reporters, who now, by the way, is editor of the city papers, conceived the idea of "working" the grim sentinel outside. He did not try to do it all at once, but by a skillful working of his points he became acquainted with him as the young man who attended the spiritual adviser. By degrees he became aware that the grim sentinel had a weakness for beer. It was easy work after that, for he contrived to meet him every night after he was relieved, and together the two talked over the events of the day in the jail over their beverage. The guard was full of information in just the proportion that he was full of beer, and the facts that filled many a breezy column of his paper were costing the enterprising news-gatherer many glasses of beer. Sheriff Cleveland was wild. He questioned every one about the jail, but could get no satisfaction. At last his eye fell upon the sentinel and he was spotted. It was the night before the execution the two were seen together. That settled it, for in the morning the sentinel was gone and in his place was another. Gaffney swung on the morning of the 14th of February, 1872. Many citizens of the city remember the execution.

The second execution performed by the Gov-

error while Sheriff was five months later. The murderer named Morrissey was one of the most despicable wretches that ever deserved a shameful death. He lived with his poor old mother in the vicinity of the old "Packet" dock, in the rear of what was known as the Alhambra theatre. He was a thoroughly heartless man and was given to frequent and continued debauches, during which he submitted his dependent mother to the most shameful cruelty. While on one of these sprees he sought out his mother's hovel and demanded from her the few pence she had earned by her own exertions to buy bread. She refused him, when he struck her to the floor. At the time she was cutting a loaf of bread for his supper. As she struggled to her feet she said to him, "You had better kill your mother and be done with it." As she uttered the words he grasped the knife from her hands and with the words, "I will kill you then," buried it in her breast. The horror of the matricide made people of the city shudder, and the jury by which he was tried lost no time in bringing in a verdict of murder in the first degree. Morrissey was sentenced to hang on the 6th day of September. Prominent among the witnesses on that famous trial was Albert Haight, now a Supreme Court Judge. The execution took place on the day named in the warrant, and the present Governor was the executioner.

On retiring from the place he resumed his prac-

tice, forming a partnership with his old political adversary, Lyman K. Bass, the firm-name being Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. When some years later Mr. Bass removed to Colorado a new firm was of necessity formed, its name being Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard—a firm that soon acquired a place among the very first law-firms in Erie County.

It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public. These qualities, combined with the fidelity and independence of his official action while in office, brought him prominently before the public of Buffalo when that city, unable to extricate itself from a municipal octopus, was casting about for a staunch reform leader.

MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

It was the year 1881 that brought Mr. Cleveland into his first public prominence of special importance. Buffalo had been badly ruled by a ring of Republican politicians, and the conscience of the party had revolted against it, when the Democrats, conscious of the fine reputation Mr. Cleveland en-

joyed for uprightness of character, and seeing their opportunity, called him out from his retirement from politics to be their candidate for Mayor of the city. Buffalo is usually Republican by from 2,000 to 5,000 majority, and Mr. Cleveland's election on the Democratic ticket by a majority of 5,000 was simply a tribute to his personal popularity and personal integrity—above all to his personal integrity.

His administration was marked by rare ability and judgment, and his courage in dealing with reckless and corrupt measures won him the respect of all classes of citizens. Wasteful and corrupt measures were always vetoed and effectually killed. Not an enactment was passed over his veto. The veto of the notorious street cleaning award alone saved the city \$109,000.

He passed the first few weeks of his term of office in attentively studying the details of every department of the city administration. His previous experiences as Assistant District-Attorney and as Sheriff taught him what to look for and where to look for it. He found the ordinary municipal abuses, sanctioned by long habit and immunity, flourishing as usual. One morning he surprised the city by issuing an order that all the officials should keep strict business hours, like the employés of private firms. Before the office-holders had recovered from this shock he began a series of vetoes which equally astonished the Com-

mon Council. This Board had a Republican majority and attempted to override the vetoes, but Mayor Cleveland's terse, logical, business-like messages were published, and public opinion was too strong for the opposition Councilmen. They attempted to entrap him by passing a resolution apportioning for the celebration of Decoration Day a sum of money reserved by the charter for other purposes, believing that Mayor Cleveland would not dare to interfere with Decoration Day, or that he would become unpopular if he did. Down came the veto as promptly as ever, and in his message the Mayor so thoroughly exposed the trick that his popularity, instead of diminishing, rapidly increased.

His administration of the office fully justified the partiality of the friends who insisted upon nominating him, and vindicated the good judgment of the people who so powerfully insisted upon electing him. It is not too much to say that in the first half of the first year he almost revolutionized Buffalo's municipal government. With no more power than his predecessors had, he inaugurated reforms before only hoped for, and corrected abuses which had become almost venerable. Accounts against the city were thoroughly audited, since he pointed out what is required of an officer whose duty it is to audit. The wholesome rule of competition was adopted for important work that used to be given out in the form of political pat-

ronage. So far as one man can see, he saw to it that the city got the full value of its money. He knew his power and was not afraid to use it. He conquered the most corrupt combinations ever formed in the council and rebuked the conspirators in terms that brought the blush of shame to the most brazen of Aldermen. His veto messages have become municipal classics. Knowing his duty he faithfully performed it.

When Mr. Cleveland entered upon the office of Mayor the Common Council had determined to build an intercepting sewer and had advertised for proposals. The lowest bids for the work was \$1,568,000. Mr. Cleveland thought that the sewer could be built cheaper if a committee of citizens had charge of its construction. Through his efforts, though opposed in Council, a law was passed allowing a commission to be appointed. This commission, composed of representative citizens, conferred with the most eminent sewer engineers of the country, and on their advice have adopted a plan that will meet all requirements at an estimated cost of \$764,370. The plan has been accepted by the Council and the sewer will be constructed accordingly. The saving to the city on this item alone is \$803,630. On June 19th the Council voted to award the street-cleaning contract, for five years, to George Talbot at his bid of \$422,500. There were several lower bids, by thoroughly responsible men. Mayor Cleveland vetoed the

award, severely condemning the attempted waste of the people's money. The contract was subsequently awarded to the lowest bidder—Capt. Thomas Maytham—at \$313,500. The saving to the city by this veto was \$109,000. The amount saved on these two items during the first six months of Mayor Cleveland's administration was nearly \$1,000,000.

GOV. CLEVELAND'S EARLY LIFE.

A special correspondent gives the following sketch of the early life of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency :

"A little village twelve miles up the Black River Railroad from Utica bears the singular name of Holland Patent. Less than a thousand souls live in this quiet hamlet, which but for the accidents of politics would probably never have been heard of outside of the records of Oneida county. It was made famous in a day by the nomination of Governor Cleveland for the Presidency. True it is that neither the place nor its humble people ever knew much of him, either as boy or man, for his life there can be spanned by the circle of a few months. It has held the family hearthstone for many years and that now makes it a place of note. The father died here, when he had said his long prayers and given good old doctrinal sermons to his slender flock only three weeks. His mother made it her home until her death, soon after her son was elected Governor of New York. The only maiden sister he has still keeps up the humble cottage, which will now figure in song, story and picture as the early and only real home of the Democratic Presidential nominee.

"Over at Clinton, a secluded village some ten miles across the flat country from here, he went to school some time before his parents moved up to 'the Patent.' But he is remembered there only as the son of a poor Presbyterian preacher, who wore shabby clothes and was always ready to fight, not only for himself, but for his younger companions, when he or they were nagged by the older or more fortunate boys. There are not many reminiscences of his father to be had there or here. He is remembered as a rigid disciple of the Blue Stocking faith, one of these strong, severe characters, which 'would have perished at the stake for tenets he would not forsake.' The mother is also readily recalled as a positive force in this pious household. The blood of a good, Southern Maryland family runs in her veins, and it was a good strain with which to warm the frigid qualities of the cold New England stock which was top in the head of the household. Hence the ten strong children who were born of the union, offspring well equipped with the qualities of body and mind for stiff battle with the world. Not brilliant, but able, substantial people, all of them. Whether or not it was the Southern blood that changed the temper of the children I cannot say, but I believe that out of the five boys none of them turned to the ministry as their ancestors in the male line had done for generations before. One or two of the girls married preachers, but most of them chose to look for a better material chance in life than can be found in product of mite societies and of donation gatherings.

"The old maid sister, who still lives up at Holland Patent, wears short hair, is strong-minded and lectures. All of the children were good in the

head and were educated in a very strict school. They were well grounded in a sense of right and justice, and the mother seems to have been as severe a disciplinarian as the father. She evidently seems never to have lost her oversight over them or to have withheld her good advice. After Grover was elected Mayor of Buffalo the mother wrote him rather disapproving his entering public life. After saying what her ambitions were for him and expressing a natural tinge of gratification at his election, she concluded her epistle by saying: 'But now that you have taken upon yourself the burthens of public office do right, act honestly, impartially and fearlessly.' The injunction was obeyed and his courage has won him a phenomenal success.

"It would appear from a close study of this man's conduct and general traits of character from boyhood up, right here, where his early days were spent, and in Buffalo, where his later life has been an open book to its people, that his hard struggle for a place in the world has ever given him supreme self-reliance. He was about seventeen when he left Holland Patent and went to New York to help teach the blind. He had that early established the reputation of being a nervy, manly sort of a young fellow, somewhat diffident, but not afraid to face any emergency which might confront him. He seems to have assumed more than any other member of the family the care of his mother and sisters. About the only estate, save the little house up at 'the Patent', that the father left his widow was the ten robust children.

TEACHER OF THE BLIND.

"Mr. Cleveland's experiences in teaching the

blind in New York were by no means pleasant, and he appears to have been engaged in this sort of work in that city about the same time and for the same length of time that Mr. Blaine occupied a precisely similar position in Philadelphia. After he left New York and journeyed to Buffalo he had a still harder life, if possible, than before his father died. His uncle, to whom he went for advice in that city, was a severe old Presbyterian; not exactly a miser, but a strict and unyielding business man, and believed that every boy should make his own place in life by his own energies and application. Without any compunctions of conscience he made the nephew work hard to keep himself in food and common raiment while he was studying his profession of the law. Thus it was all work and no play with him until after he had passed his majority. The very conditions of existence with him toughened his mental as well as his physical fibre, and grooved him into a plain, simple way of living that he has never forsaken. His bachelor quarters in the building where he has his offices are comfortable, but very unpretentious.

"The gossip in his home is that he has never had any other place of residence since he began to practice. He has not even kept up the style of club life, but took his meals at Mrs. Gauson's boarding house, with the added luxury of a Sunday morning breakfast at the Terrapin Lunch, a plain restaurant, where a good meal can be got at modest figures.

"This style of living was not kept up after he became well-to-do to be saving, for he has the reputation of being a rather open-handed man and not given to hoarding money. It is apparent, from

the talk of all his friends, that he loves congenial companionship and is a most pleasant conversationalist, thoroughly capable of entertaining a company of any character. I found it current talk in Buffalo that he had always been much courted in society, but that he could rarely be induced to enter the charmed circle. There is a good deal of interesting chat about the plans that have been set to capture this bachelor and their universal failure. One story runs that only recently some friends had two charming ladies visiting them from the Eastern States, and that the lady of the house gave an evening party especially for the purpose of bringing the Governor within the influence of these attractive girls. He shunned the temptation, as he has done many of the kind, and did not attend. He said to a lady who chaffed him about his bachelor life, that if she could find a girl whom she would certify was just right he would enter into bonds to marry her if she would have him. This good-natured raillery has given rise to the rumor that he is thinking of making a change in his domestic relations.

"It is singular to find a man who has led a bachelor life so well thought of by all classes as Mr. Cleveland is in Buffalo. He has the confidence and respect of everybody except a few ward politicians whom he has disappointed. His political methods, as you find them developed at his home, are not calculated to commend him to the average politician. His self-reliance, candid faith in his own judgment and unflinching honesty have earned him the reputation among this class of being ungrateful to those who have helped to make him a power.

"After gathering the home impressions of the man and the features of his early life in this locality, I spent a half day at Albany with the man who has so recently filled the public eye plumb full. He is a good deal such a man as you would expect to find from his experiences, training, birth and general habits of life. He is a large and powerfully built, well-proportioned and rather good-looking man. He has a pleasant cast of countenance and is rather a winning talker. He has not the quality of magnetism about him, but impresses you with his candor and openness. He is an attractive man, without being too familiar, and is the most democratic official I ever saw.

"The humblest man or woman is admitted to his presence as readily as the highest. He impressed me as a person having the judicial quality of mind developed to a very high degree—one of those strong-headed men with a good opinion of his own understanding of anything he considered. There is not the least characteristic of a politician about him. This is of course the natural result of a life that has been busy and entirely devoted of late years to the enjoyment of the fruits of professional labor and to dealing with men upon the basis of perfect fairness. He is a singular man and has led a peculiar life. If the majority of his years have been tending up hill, his later days certainly have not, and he seems to be shaping himself to take solid comfort among the rewards of his toil."

MAYOR CLEVELAND ON CITIZENSHIP.

When it became known in this country that Mr. Lowell had abandoned the Americans imprisoned

in Ireland without formal accusation, trial, or conviction, the public indignation found expression in mass meetings to protest against his course, and about the time that the controversy culminated such a meeting was called in Buffalo. It was held April 9, 1882, in St. James' Hall, and the Governor, who had been then three months Mayor of Buffalo, presided. On taking the chair he delivered the following address, which is certainly as frank and outspoken an utterance in regard to the duties of the American Government to its citizens abroad as any one need ask for :

"Fellow-citizens—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen. From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of the personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government. And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this, the best and freest of them all—for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we choose those who for the time being shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

"And this protection adheres to us in all lands

and places as an incident of citizen ship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great, strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birth-rights. But when in the westward march of empire this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

'Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day;'

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came, and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

"And what should be given them in return? Manifestly good faith and every dictate of honor demands that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions. It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that 'all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government

the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation.

"In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate we hold it to be so; and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say and do say that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned, but ours will not.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject, and inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded, 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and un-

condemned?' So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization, 'Is it lawful that these, our fellows, be imprisoned, who are American citizens and uncondemned?' I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it."

A correspondent of the *New York World*, who visited Buffalo, to inquire among those who knew him best about the character and mode of life of Governor Cleveland, writes as follows:

"While stopping in Buffalo for a few days, I had an opportunity to converse with several persons who had known their Mayor long and well. I found a sterling regard for the man everywhere, and it was a regard uninfluenced by political bias. Among those best able to form independent opinions, this regard was obviously founded on character. Among the people themselves there was a well-defined conviction that he was a man they could depend upon. As one rough fellow said to me in the hotel saloon: 'Well, I don't know about his learnin' or how he stands on a lot of questions that we don't understand, and don't want to, but he's a safe man, and he's pretty sure to understand them better than we do, and he'll do the right thing.'

"I suppose that this kind of faith in character is one of the most inestimable discoveries that a man can make, and I was interested to find that the element of popularity did not grow out of the subject good-fellowship, or mere manners. I failed to hear any one say that Grover Cleveland had any magnetism, or that he fascinated a crowd, or that

he drew people after him with a personal glamour. On the contrary I formed a very distinct notion that there was a class of men that he repelled, and that disliked him as easily, as naturally and as sincerely as a thief hates a magistrate or a smuggler hates a dead calm. Indeed it was impossible to discover either in the man's record or in the reputation that had grown up about him anything dramatic. The resultant heroism of his life is that common heroism of the 'common' work-a-day world which does its duty, not for effect but for a principle and a purpose, and which, if it does not so easily catch the eye and the ear, is after all the enduring force that the people come to look for and rely upon when there is great work to be done. I looked into his law offices on Main street—this later laboratory where were evolved the legal functions that came into the public service of his own community. They were curiously solid and unpretentious, and upstairs were the bachelor rooms where for years Grover Cleveland had slept and worked. I examined them minutely, for one often obtains a glimpse of character by such *entourage*. They were indicative of the simple tastes, methodical habits and studious life of the occupant. Two or three pictures, evidently selected not for decoration but because the owner prized the subject and admired the treatment, hung on the walls. But there was elsewhere not a superfluous article in the room. Elegance had been forgotten in the successful attempt to secure comfort and convenience."

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mayor Cleveland made such an exceptional re-

cord that the eyes of all the Democrats in the State were turned to him as the most available candidate for Governor, and the press of both political parties commended him as a fit executive of the State of New York.

He was elected to that office in November, 1882, by a majority of 192,854 over Charles J. Folger, the Republican nominee, and he took possession of the Executive Chamber on the 1st of January, 1883.

The earliest reports from the Democratic State Convention of 1882 spoke of the nomination of Mayor Cleveland for Governor of the State of New York as a surprise. It was no surprise to the men who proposed the nomination. He had been fighting the petty thieves of the Buffalo municipality for a year, and the people of that section wanted him to fight the big thieves of the State government. The tier of four counties, of which Erie is the chief, sent their delegates to the Convention pledged to vote for Grover Cleveland, and for nobody else. They knew their man, and soon taught the Convention to know him. On the morning after the nomination of Grover Cleveland the *Buffalo Express*, the leading Republican newspaper in the interior of the State, announced that it would support him instead of the Republican candidate. Within a week many other leading Republican organs and politicians took the same bold ground. *Republicans*—so divided upon almost every other

subject, as District Attorney Woodford and George William Curtis—agreed in repudiating the Folger and forgery ticket. Thousands of Republicans led by the Young Men's Club, of Brooklyn, voted for Grover Cleveland, and thousands more refrained from voting for any Governor. He swept the State like a tidal wave, and being elected by a majority over Folger of 192,854.

Mr. Cleveland went to Albany just before the beginning of 1883 to assume the office of Governor in the most quiet and unostentatious manner. On the day of his inauguration he walked to the capital and avoided all appearance of parade. His address evinced a deep sense of the responsibility which had come upon him, and an evident determination to do his best. He was obliged at once to address the Legislature and to face the requirements of its action. One of his first acts was to appoint the Railroad Commissioners provided for by the law passed the year before. The admirable character of his selections showed his judgment of men and of their fitness for special duties. The same characteristic was displayed as well as a conscientious disregard of mere partisan considerations in the important appointments which came later in the session. In naming Mr. Shanahan as Superintendent of Public Works, Mr. Perry as Commissioner of the new Capitol, and Mr. Andrews as Superintendent of the Capitol Buildings he looked to fitness alone.

He not only acted in conformity with these sentiments in making appointments but promptly approved the civil service reform bills which public sentiment and the persistency of an earnest minority compelled the Legislature to pass, following it at once with a most admirable appointment of Commissioners. He has aided and sustained the commission at all points in a most unreserved and hearty manner. In dealing with the acts of the Legislature generally Governor Cleveland early developed his peculiarity of studying carefully every measure laid before him, not only with a view to judging of its effect and bearing upon public interests, but to ascertain that it was consistent with existing laws and free in its form from such defects as would produce trouble in its operation. He adopted a practice quite unusual of sending back measures whose purpose he approved, but which were defective in form, to have them corrected. In his vetoes, which were quite numerous, he displayed the utmost candor and a complete disregard of the question whether certain persons or interests would not be aggrieved by the failure of measures which he believed were not demanded by the wider interests of the public.

CHAPTER III.

THE VETOES OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION PROHIBITED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. THE FIVE CENT FARE BILL. THE HONOR AND INTEGRITY OF THE STATE IN THE CUSTODY OF THE EXECUTIVE AND HE HAS NO RIGHT TO SEE IT IMPAIRED—THE TENURE OF OFFICE BILL—THE BILL TO REGULATE THE HOURS OF LABOR OF CAR DRIVERS AND CONDUCTORS. TAMMANY'S HOSTILITY—OTHER ENEMIES.

IN spite of the amendment to the State Constitution forbidding special legislation, many bills of that sort have entered his chamber only to be killed. The same care and painstaking were observable when more general interests were at stake. He vetoed a general street railroad bill because the rights of the people were so loosely guarded. His veto of the Buffalo Fire Department bill was against the interests of certain party managers in his home city, but he vetoed the bill for that very reason and because it was not in the interest of the people at large. The same care of the public led him to veto a bill which removed many of the present restrictions and allowed the trustees of savings banks to invest in wild-cat securities. His veto of the Prison Commission bill was because he thought it ought to report sooner than next January. He has steadily put his foot on all measures to exempt from taxation. His disapproval of two or three of the New York reform bills was because they were so loosely drawn.

In his prompt approval of the bills for reforming and reorganizing the city service in New York he has shown his comprehension of the needs of municipal government and made himself effectively the leader of the movement. The moral effect his prompt action on the one bill taking from the despotic and trading Board of Aldermen the confirming power of throwing the responsibility entirely upon the Mayor enabled the reform element in the Legislature to continue their work with the assurance that every necessary and reasonable aid would be given them by the Executive. The news of the signing of the Roosevelt Mayoralty bill was received by the Democratic politicians, and the Tammany members especially, with deep disgust. He disapproved the Five-cent Fare bill for constitutional reasons. Referring to his message, the *Tribune* editorially said:—"The message containing his reasons for so doing is straightforward and forcible, and we believe will be pronounced sound by most of those who have been strenuous in their demands for a reduction of fares on the elevated roads. His objections to the measure are of a serious nature. He argues that to suffer it to become a law would mean the impairment of the obligation of a contract, involving a breach of faith and a betrayal of confidence by the State."

Chief among his acts which have been subjected to adverse criticism by the laboring classes of this city is his veto of Assembly bill No. 58 in March, 1883. The act is commonly known as the "Five-cent Fare bill," and forbade the collection or charge of more than five cents on any railroad in New York city for conveying a person any distance between the Battery and Harlem. At the

time of its presentation the Governor was so impressed with its importance and the public interest which it excited that he exercised the greatest care and most diligent inquiry into the measure before rendering his decision.

"I am convinced," he said, "that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment. In his conclusion he may err, but if he has fairly and honestly acted, he has performed his duty and given to the people of the State his best endeavor."

The Governor goes on to explain in justification of his veto that the Elevated Roads of this city are now under the sole operation of the Manhattan Elevated Railroad as lessee of the New York Elevated Railroad and the Metropolitan. He cites the provisions laid down in the act of April 20th, 1866, authorizing the construction of the West Side road, which specified that no more than five cents per mile might be charged for fare of one person. That road has since gone into the hands of the New York Elevated Railroad Company, and a law was passed on June 17th, 1875, transferring the rights of the road to the new company, and further providing that it be "hereby confirmed in the possession and enjoyments of said rights, powers, privileges and franchises as fully and at large as they were so granted in and by the acts to the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company. The Court of Appeals, referring to this law, said:

"The effect of this act was to secure to the elevated railroad company all the rights, privileges

and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company under the purchase by and transfer to it."

By another section of this act the New York Elevated Railroad was empowered to receive from each passenger a sum not exceeding ten cents a mile for five miles or less.

In 1875 another act was passed, commonly known as the Rapid Transit act, providing for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, whose office embraced authority to fix and determine the time within which the new elevated roads should be completed, and to formulate a scale of maximum rates to be charged as fare on such roads, and regulate the hours during which special trains should be run at reduced rates of fare. In accordance with the act the Mayor of this city appointed a Board of Commissioners, who expended a great deal of time and labor in the consideration of the proposed roads. They even fixed and determined specifically the route of the new New York Elevated Railroad, and prescribed with the utmost particularity the manner and form of its construction and operation. A deliberate and specific agreement was made with the company that it should charge as fares upon its cars, at such hours as were not embraced within the time specified for the running of "commission" trains, at a rate "for all distances under five miles not to exceed ten cents, and not to exceed two cents for each mile or fraction of a mile over five miles, until the fare should amount to not exceeding fifteen cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery and intersection of Third avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street, and from and between the

Battery and High Bridge not to exceed seventeen cents for a through passenger, and that for the entire distance from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street the fare shall not exceed ten cents per passenger."

A further agreement was made that commission trains should be run during certain hours of the morning and evening, upon which—for the benefit of workmen and the laboring classes—the fare should not exceed five cents for conveyance between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street, nor should exceed seven cents for a through passenger from the Battery to Harlem during those hours. The railroad company further agreed that when the net income of the proposed road, after all expenditures, taxes and charges are paid, should amount to a sum sufficient to pay exceeding ten per cent. per annum on the capital stock of the company, that in such case and within six months thereafter, and so long as said net earnings amount to a sum sufficient to pay more than ten per cent., the said company would run commission trains on its road at all hours during which it should be operated, at the rates of fare mentioned.

These agreements were at the time of their formulation highly satisfactory to the Commissioners, who accordingly transmitted them to the Mayor, accompanied by a highly congratulatory report, upon receipt of which the Mayor submitted the papers to the Board of Aldermen, who approved the act. This was in the fall of 1875. The New York Elevated Railroad Company thereupon constructed its road from the Battery to Harlem, a distance of ten miles.

The new bill, however, which was presented to

the Governor for signature last year, provided that, notwithstanding all the laws which had been passed and rigidly complied with on the part of the railroad company, a new scale of rates should be forced upon it, insisting that passengers should be carried the whole length of the road for five cents, a sum about half that which was specified in the agreement. In his consideration of the bill Gov. Cleveland was compelled, out of a single spirit of honesty, to say :

"I am of the opinion that in the legislation and proceedings which I have detailed, and in the fact that pursuant thereto the road of the company was constructed and finished, there exists a contract in favor of this company which is protected by that clause of the Constitution of the United States which prohibits the passage of a law by any State impairing the obligation of contracts."

He went on to say that section 33 of the General Railroads act provided that the Legislature may, when any railroad shall be opened for use, from time to time alter or reduce the rates of freight, fare or other profits upon said road, but the sum shall not without the consent of the company be so reduced as to bring down the profits on the invested capital to less than 10 per cent. per annum. In his communication to the Legislature vetoing the proposed bill modifying the rates of fare, the Governor said that even if the State had the power to reduce the rates of fare on the elevated roads, it promised in its agreement not to do so except under certain circumstances and after a certain specified examination.

"I am not satisfied," he said, "that these circumstances exist. It is conceded that no such

examination has been made. The constitutional objections which I have suggested to the bill under consideration are not, I think, removed by the claim that the proposed legislation is in the nature of an alteration of the charters of these companies, and that this is permitted by the State Constitution and by the provisions of some of the laws to which I have referred. I suppose that while the charters of corporations may be altered or repealed, it must be done in subordination to the Constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land. This leads to the conclusion that the alteration of a charter cannot be made the pretext for the passage of a law which impairs the obligation of a contract. If I am mistaken in supposing that there are legal objections to this bill, there is another consideration which furnishes to my mind a sufficient reason why I should not give it my approval.

"It seems to me that to arbitrarily reduce these fares at this time under existing circumstances involves a breach of faith on the part of the State and a betrayal of confidence which the State has invited. The fact was notorious that for many years rapid transit was the great need of the inhabitants of the city of New York, and was of direct importance to the citizens of the State. Projects which promised to answer the people's wants in this direction failed and were abandoned. The Legislature, appreciating the situation, willingly passed statute after statute calculated to aid and encourage a solution of the problem. Capital was timid and hesitated to enter a new field full of risks and dangers. By the promise of liberal fares, as will be seen in all the acts passed on the subject, and through other concessions gladly made,

capitalists were induced to invest their money in the enterprise, and rapid transit but lately became an accomplished fact. But much of the risk, expense and burden attending the maintenance of these roads is yet unknown and threatening. In the mean time, the people of the city of New York are receiving the full benefit of their construction, a great enhancement of the value of the taxable property of the city has resulted, and in addition to taxes, more than \$120,000, being 5 per cent. in increase, pursuant to the law of 1868, has been paid by the companies into the city treasury, on the faith that the rate of fare agreed upon was secured to them. I am not aware that the corporations have, by any default, forfeited any of their rights; and if they have, the remedy is at hand under existing laws.

"It is manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people should be recognized by conservative conduct on the part of the State government. We have especially in our keeping," continued Mr. Cleveland, "the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth."

The opposition, such as it is, to Governor Cleveland on account of his veto of the Five-cent Fare bill can only be kept alive by the most reckless demagogism. His act was one which must in time secure for him the respect of the people, for, however desirable it may have been to have the Elevated Railroad fares reduced, and however politic as a measure of popularity it may have been to

sign that bill, his objections to it are unanswerable. He believed the bill was unconstitutional, and that his duty as the Executive was not to sign it. He therefore sacrificed whatever chance of popularity was offered, and held to the determination to do his duty and stand by his convictions. This is one of those acts which the clamor of partisanship may obscure or pervert, but which the abiding sense of the community sooner or later is sure to indorse.

The intelligent workingman knows, in spite of political rhetoric, that the best safeguard he can have in a public servant is integrity of purpose and the courage to withstand the pressure of vested interests on the one hand and the idle clamor of a class on the other.

This is amply shown in the veto of the Mechanics' Lien bill, which at the time was believed to be strongly in the interest of the workmen, but which it is now known was wholly in the interest of lawyers and court employes, increasing as it did the fees and costs for enforcing liens and leaving out of sight entirely the security of workmen's wages.

And yet the act of the Governor in vetoing this bill was made use of by demagogues at the time to incite the workmen against him.

No act of Gov. Cleveland shows more clearly his independence of political considerations in his treatment of legislation than his refusal to approve what is known as "The Tenure of Office bill."

If this bill had become a law, two valuable offices—those of the Corporation Counsel and the Commissioner of Public Works—would have been left vacant for the next Mayor to fill of his own volition immediately after his election. These po-

sitions would have been just so much political capital to aid the regular Democracy, the earnest supporters of Mr. Cleveland, in the election of their Mayor. The bill, if approved, would have prevented the filling of the two vacancies by the present Mayor with the confirmation of the Board of Aldermen.

The failure of the bill of course leaves Mayor Edson at liberty to appoint and the present Board of Aldermen to confirm a Corporation Counsel and a Commissioner of Public Works for four years before they go out of office.

Tammany Hall is unfriendly to the Governor, is friendly with Mayor Edson, and controls the Board of Aldermen through the deal with the Republicans which made Alderman Kirk President.

Hubert O. Thompson, the present Commissioner of Public Works, is a warm supporter of the Governor and a bitter opponent of Tammany Hall. It is the earnest desire of Tammany to get Mr. Thompson out of the Public Works Department, and in this they are certain of the co-operation of Mayor Edson, whose nominee they can hold in the Board of Aldermen.

By his refusal to sign the Tenure of Office act, therefore, Gov. Cleveland gave Tammany, his political enemy, the power to control these two important offices and sacrificed Mr. Thompson, who is at war with Tammany. But the bill was loosely drawn, inoperative and capable of mischievous construction, and so Gov. Cleveland refused his signature to it, although by so doing he gave two valuable offices to Tammany and to the Board of Aldermen, which he had just made his enemy by

taking from them the confirming power after this year.

Gov. Cleveland also filed his reasons for withholding his signature from the bill purporting "To regulate the hours of labor of drivers and conductors of horse-cars in cities." They are as follows:

"I fail to see any good purpose to be gained by this bill. It is distinctly and palpably class legislation, in that it only applies to conductors and drivers on horse railroads. It does not prohibit the making of a contract for any number of hours' work, I think, and if it does, it is an interference with the employer's as well as employé's rights. If the car-drivers and conductors work fewer hours, they must receive less pay, and this bill does not prevent that. I cannot think this bill is in the interest of the workingman."

One of his vetoes, and one of much importance, was the Mechanics' Lien bill. On a careful examination of this measure it is clear to anybody that such a law would injure instead of benefit the workingman.

It was totally impracticable and loaded down with provisions which would defeat the very ends it sought to accomplish. It is charged that it was drawn mainly in the interests of a clique of lawyers who aimed at increasing bills of costs in certain cases. The Governor's memorandum, in which fatal objections are noticed, reads as follows:

"The bill repeals in distinct terms a number of mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. I notice two features which I think objectionable enough to warrant me in declining to sign it. First, it gives all parties having claims four months after performance

of work or furnishing of material to file a lien; second, it allows on proceedings to enforce the lien the same costs as in foreclosure cases. This would be quite onerous, and, I think, should not be allowed."

The position of the Governor in striking out the item of appropriation for the West Chester Catholic Protectory has furnished some demagogues food for misrepresentation and calumny from a religious standpoint. Such attacks have been effectually disposed of by a despatch from Mr. Henry L. Hoguet, president of the protectory. This despatch reads:

"We never doubted the sincerity of the motive which induced Gov. Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the protectory. We thought then and think now that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry or of hostility to Catholics or the Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Gov. Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to withholding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it."

The pay of a driver on a Harlem Railroad line is, say, \$2.00 per day. The round trip from the bridge to the City Hall and back takes 3 hours and 20 minutes. Five round trips a day occupies 16 hours and 40 minutes or, say, 17 hours.

These five round trips average 40 cents per trip. If the Governor had signed that unsatisfactory and unjust bill—unjust to the employé and not to the employer—the company would have divided up the pay into trips, and have paid 40 cents per round trip. Three and a half round trips would consume the 12 hours to which a driver's work would

have been limited, and for this service he would have received only \$1.40.

To make his full \$2.00 he would have had to work over-hours and must still have made his five trips per day, occupying 16 hours and 40 minutes.

More than that. In the winter, during the delay consequent to a severe snow-storm, when the round trip instead of taking 3 hours and 20 minutes frequently occupies 5 hours, the drivers would have received no more than the 40 cents, and would have earned in 12 hours, for two and a half trips, only \$1.00. Or if in ordinary times, through a large fire or any other cause, a driver who worked the old 17 hours in order to get as much as he now gets should miss a trip, the amount for that trip would have been deducted from his pay.

The drivers and conductors ought to hold a mass-meeting to thank Gov. Cleveland for vetoing a bill so absurd and so adverse to their interests. Demagogues may bluster and promise, but no legislative enactment has ever yet been invented that will secure a man fifteen hours' pay for eight hours' labor.

At the close of the session he came for the first time in direct collision with the power of Tammany. He had made a number of appointments, chiefly affecting New York city, among them Commissioners of Emigration, Quarantine Commissioners, and Harbor Masters. These were not pleasing to Tammany, and were attacked especially by Senator Grady. The Governor sent a communication to the Senate urging the importance of disposing of these appointments before the session closed, and reflecting indirectly on the motives of the opposition. This drew from Grady a bitter tirade against the Governor, and the Legislature adjourned with-

out a confirmation of the appointments. As the political canvass of last year came on, Gov. Cleveland wrote a personal letter to John Kelly, conveying to the Tammany "boss" his wish that Grady should not be sent again to the Senate, recognizing the unquestionable fact that Kelly was the dispenser of nominations in Tammany Hall, and placing his objection not only on the ground of his own comfort but of the public interest. These incidents sufficiently indicate the occasion of Tammany's hostility to the Governor and of Grady's special hatred for him.

It is but natural that Governor Cleveland by his fearless antagonism to corruption, favoritism and jobbery should incur the hostility of those whose foremost aim is office and plunder. Tammany, a powerful organization of the city of New York, had lost a good part of its influence and its political prestige through the signing of different bills, which were passed by the New York Legislature to this very end, by Governor Cleveland.

Thomas F. Grady, Boss Kelly's Tammany lieutenant, whom Kelly put up to denounce Governor Cleveland in the Chicago Convention, was a State Senator at Albany in 1882 and 1883. In the autumn of 1883 he was seeking a re-election when Governor Cleveland wrote the following private, personal letter upon the subject to Kelly:

"Executive Chamber, Albany, Oct. 20th, 1883.—Hon. John Kelly—My Dear Sir:—It is not without hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to

the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people and the improvement of legislative methods, are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me. Yours very truly, GROVER CLEVELAND."

This letter Kelly caused to be published, together with a personal attack upon Governor Cleveland.

On the afternoon of November 23d a correspondent of the *Herald* held an interview with the Governor on the subject, which was reported as follows:

Governor Cleveland sat in his large revolving chair in the Executive Chamber this afternoon when the *Herald* correspondent called. The Governor was alone. He looks vigorous and buoyant. The Hancock standard of 250 pounds has evidently been long since reached.

"That letter of yours to Mr. Kelly," said the correspondent, "has caused a good deal of talk."

The heavy armchair was rolled a little nearer the interviewer and the Governor's lips were compressed.

"Indeed? Well, I suppose so," he answered.

"Why?"

"That is for you to say."

"I hold it was the proper thing, under the circumstances, to send that letter."

"You think Grady was not the proper representative to send back to the Senate?"

"I do, most assuredly. His action in the Senate has been against the interests of the people and of good government, and his ready tongue gave him power to be of great aid to bad men. I believe that the Democratic party could not afford to indorse such a course, and that his rejection would be a great benefit to the party and to the people. What's the use of striving for the Senate, country Democrats argued, and have Grady holding the balance of power to sell us out to the Republicans?"

"But about the letter, Governor?"

The big arm-chair rolled closer still. "I sat down without the knowledge of any person and wrote to Kelly—this man who had been assuring me of his anxiety to give me aid in my work. [The Governor here raised his hand and forcibly slapped the desk in front of him.] I suggested, not for my personal comfort, which I did not deny would be subserved, but for the good of the public service, that he who had the power to say 'Go' or 'Come' should not force the nomination of Grady upon the Democrats of the State. No man ever acted with a more positive desire to serve the State than I did when I wrote that letter to a man claiming to be my friend. I suggested that he who had the power (everybody knowing that the people of the district had nothing to do with the nomination, and that but for Kelly's orders Grady could not be nominated) should favor some better man for the Senate."

"Did Mr. Kelly ever answer your letter?"

"No. If he had been what I took him to be and he believed in Grady's nomination, he would

have so written frankly in reply. He put the letter in his pocket, and, I understand, called in his district leaders in Grady's district and stated his purpose to nominate him. The responses understood to be from these leaders were that Grady could not be elected in his home district, where Col. M. C. Murphy had been nominated in pursuance of an understanding between all the organizations in the district. In violation of this understanding he sought to renominate Grady there. Then and not till then did Mr. Grady announce his retirement—a retirement which was forced by the fact that he knew he could not be elected. All this time my letter had been in Kelly's pocket."

The strong arm here again fell on the executive desk. "What then?" continued the Governor. "Mr. Kelly (whom many who opposed him in politics believed to be a gentleman) takes this private, personal letter, written, as he knew, for his own eye only, to the *New York World* and requests its publication, together with a story that that letter prevented union nominations in New York and would make the Senate Republican. At the same time Mr. Kelly's newspaper was openly attacking and seeking the defeat of four Democratic Senators outside of New York—Henry C. Nelson, James Mackin, John C. Jacobs, and John J. Kiernan—and one or more Democratic Assemblymen."

"Then you strongly adhere to the conviction that this letter should have been written?"

Governor Cleveland reddened to the eyebrows with determined emphasis of tone and manner.

"Most undoubtedly. The letter was, as every reader of it will acknowledge, written in the interests of the people to better the representation in

the Senate of this State. Its reception proved to me that the man who had been assuring me of his friendship was my enemy and that of the cause which I had espoused. It gave an opportunity for this enemy to openly and coarsely insult me as Governor of this State. To say that this letter should not have been written from one gentleman to another—the one anxious to better the public service and the other having it in his power to do it—is nonsense. To say that a man should go three hundred miles to say what he should not put on paper is the rankest kind of hypocrisy. This criticism can only be based upon the assumption that a man might say in conversing with another what he might afterwards in policy find it convenient to deny when there was no positive corroborative evidence to be brought forward as to the facts. It is unfortunate for the Democratic party that this 'boss' system exists. While it does exist it became a necessity—a disagreeable necessity. I assure you—for me to recognize it, and consequently to address that letter to Kelly. However, the time is fast approaching when this odious system will be swept away, and the voice of the people alone recognized as potent in determining nominations to public office."

"You have been attacked by several newspapers on the ground of grave inconsistency in writing this letter?"

The Governor laughed and the ponderous chair quivered.

"Yes; and it is almost amusing to note that some papers, in their efforts to convict me of 'inconsistency' as well as 'interference,' quote from my letter of acceptance condemning the interfer-

ence of the federal or State government with intent to thwart the will of the people. I stick to that sentiment yet. The trouble is (and here is the lamentable fact in the case) that it has an application to the state of affairs which the letter contemplates. The will of the people had, I suppose, nothing to do with the nomination of Mr. Grady. It began and ended with the will of Mr. Kelly, and his election after nomination depended upon the same power, bounded only by the trades and dickers that could be made with the so-called leaders and the freedom of the field from other candidates. This is not a condition consistent with true democracy, and it is not a condition most favorable to good government, but I had nothing to do with creating it. I merely conceded it as I found it and wrote to the man who had the whole matter in his keeping, suggesting that he, for the good of the people and in the interests of the party, should exercise his power for good. If this be treason I can't see how I can escape its consequences. I have supposed that Mr. Grady was put in his old field because Mr. Campbell insisted on running in opposition to him. Mr. Campbell's majority indicates that the people were quite willing to vote for somebody besides Grady."

The forcible, determined face relaxed as the Governor rolled his chair back in front of the desk.

"That is all I have to say or will say," he concluded, "to anybody on this topic. I have done with it."

Judge-Advocate H. C. King, of Brooklyn, said recently, among other things:

"The Tammany opposition to Governor Cleve-

land is personal in its character, as is that of all the prominent Democrats who are talking as loudly against him. Mr. Kelly was disappointed in some of the Governor's appointments, but neither he nor the men who opposed him have a word to say against the excellence of his appointments or the purity of his administration. Governor Cleveland aims to do right, and as there are not enough offices for every Democrat in the State; he naturally makes enemies."

"But what about the opposition of the labor organizations?"

"Well, that is greatly exaggerated. There is no combined opposition, and every attempt to get up one has been a failure. I was in Buffalo on Wednesday last. Great efforts had been made to get up a labor mass-meeting against him. There were less than 300 persons present, and no man of prominence could be induced to address the meeting. It was a melancholy fizzle. The Governor sprang from lowly condition, has been a workingman all his life, and is thoroughly in sympathy with the masses. I walked up Main street with him on Saturday, and he was continually stopped by people in all walks of life, and was greeted with a cordiality such as I have seldom witnessed."

"The story is told here that he has alienated the Catholics by some action of his."

"This is news to me. There is no truth in it. I have heard more falsehoods since I came here than could be answered in the columns of the *Herald*, some of them so vile in character that no one can be found to father them."

"How do you account for the opposition of the *New York Sun*?"

"That is easy to answer. I am the unfortunate originator of the somersault of the *Sun*. Mr. Dana was one of Governor Cleveland's most cordial supporters before the election, but as soon as his staff appointments were announced he commenced to criticize and to deprecate. A Brooklyn paper intimated that Mr. Dana had been disappointed in something. Then in a fit of what struck newspaper men as little short of weakness Mr. Dana in an editorial stated that he requested the Governor to appoint Franklin Bartlett, a young lawyer, and son of Dana's former associate, W. O. Bartlett, to the position he had given to me. Mr. Bartlett was a clever young man, but he had no experience in military matters or military law. As a matter of fact the Governor never made any promise to Mr. Dana, but the break was made nevertheless, and from that time until now he has endeavored to belittle him. It is the old story. The men who cannot use Governor Cleveland are the only ones who abuse him. Governor Cleveland has the confidence and support of all people, Democrats and Republicans alike, who are in favor of pure government. He is an ideal Democrat, and can carry New York by an overwhelming majority."

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND PRIVATE LIFE OF GOVERNOR GROVER CLEVELAND.

HIS MORAL COURAGE—HIS CLOSE ATTENTION TO DUTY—EARLY AND LATE HOURS—HIS VIEWS ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—GOVERNOR CLEVELAND AS A BARRISTER AND PUBLIC SPEAKER—HIS STRONG CONSERVATISM, AND HIS EXEMPLARY CHARACTER—HOW HE LOOKS—ANYBODY ADMITTED AT ONCE, WHO WISHES TO SEE HIM—HE IS NOT WEALTHY, AND A BACHELOR.

THE administration of Grover Cleveland as Governor has been highly satisfactory and fully in accordance with his views expressed in his letter accepting the nomination. All the appointments to office which he has made bear the stamp of that high, conscientious spirit which has always actuated him. His industry is beyond all question. Never has there been a man less approachable by politicians in quest of fat offices. His moral courage is great, as witness his veto of the Five-Cent Fare bill, which he treated regardless of the shower of abuse which he knew to be coming. Many of his other vetoes have been singularly objectionable to New York ward politicians. Many of the bills he has signed have had a like effect. For instance, those curtailing the emoluments of the county

clerk, of the register and of the sheriff. If he is elected President he may be expected to follow in the path of political rectitude which has always distinguished him, and he will be opposed by none but the schemers and tricksters of his party.

The same qualities and their practical illustration in the Buffalo Mayoralty led to Mr. Cleveland's nomination for Governor of the State without any seeking of his own, and the same popular confidence elicited by such qualities was displayed in the State canvass of 1882. In the office of Governor of the largest and richest State of the Union Mr. Cleveland has risen to the full measure of its requirements in administrative capacity, and has maintained—under the full pressure of partisan schemers and self-seekers—his exalted views of public duties, his integrity of action, and his unflinching independence and courage. This it is that has attracted so many eyes to him at this juncture as the fittest man for the Presidency, although he has never taken a conspicuous part in party councils, and has never been associated with official life at the capital of the Union.

Because Governor Cleveland took no active part in politics until recently, the conclusion must not be jumped at that he came into office a mere tyro. He was little accustomed to making speeches and writing letters on public questions, but when he began it was with some purpose. Appreciation of the business side of office and politics has been a

marked feature of his utterances. In his inaugural address as Mayor of Buffalo he said :

We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that when any part of the funds which the tax-payers have intrusted to us are diverted to other purposes, or when by design or neglect we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or of many, and yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the tax-payer than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbors. It seems to me that a successful and faithful ministration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust to be expended for their benefit, that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure, and that the affairs of the city should be conducted as far as possible upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

His views on civil service reform and on the dangers of bribery were thus elaborated in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor :

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is wilful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be some-

thing more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

Mr. Cleveland's rank at the bar is a high one. He is careful and methodical as a business man, which, united to his faculty of going to the bottom of all questions, gives him the principal elements essential to success in his profession. He presents his case well and closely, whether the argument is made before a court or a jury, but does not indulge in any exhibition of pyrotechnics. His vocabulary is ample but not overwhelming or exhaustive, as is so often the case with professional legal talkers. He is a hard worker, and a large, reliable and commanding practice is his reward.

Mr. Cleveland's strength as a candidate is due to his strong conservatism, his unsullied character, his sympathy with straightforward, business methods in politics, his exceptional standing with the independent, reform element the country over, and in his ability to inspire people with the belief that he may be trusted to do nothing for purely partisan purposes. Few men unite in themselves so many considerations of fitness and expediency. If elected he may be trusted to expose jobs, turn out and keep out thieves, and give the country a manly, conservative administration of his own.

HOW HE LOOKS.

Governor Cleveland has a vigorous, robust constitution. He possesses a large frame and is in-

clined to corpulency. His face no less than his figure and action indicates strenuous vital force, and that admirable co-ordination of faculties which is best expressed in the phrase "a cool head." Those traits, which are in part the result of early and constant self-training, have given him the air of conscious and quiet power, which belongs only to the triumphant antagonist in the world's fight. His figure betokens herculean strength, massiveness, and there is in the smoothly shaven face the same token of solidity of character, with the suggestion of physical vigor in the soft brown moustache, that strongly contrasts with the scantiness of hair on his head. There is a slight tendency to corpulency, as is usually the case in vital temperaments, and a double chin is beginning to hang down over the simple white necktie. There is nothing phlegmatic in the man's manner. His face lights up with a sympathetic smile, and he is at once interesting, unaffected and intensely real. Governor Cleveland is not married.

A near and close friend of Governor Cleveland, on the second day succeeding the Convention, wrote from Buffalo as follows :

"The home-friends and neighbors of Grover Cleveland are to-night celebrating his nomination for the Presidency. They are making a great demonstration. The city is red with the glare and noise of fireworks. Great crowds are on the streets and an almost endless procession, with banners

and music, is parading all the principal thoroughfares. In an ordinary way the place is literally being painted red. Men of both parties are engaged in it, for hear, where people know him best, I find that the Democratic Presidential nominee is held in high esteem by all classes. He seems to have led a plain, upright life, always marked with good judgment, kindness, great decision of character and sterling honesty.

"It is nearly always an easy matter to trace a man's career where nearly every one you meet knows all about his incomings and outgoings. Here the policeman on the corner was appointed by him when Mayor. Further up the street the lawyers, doctors, preachers and tradesmen speak of him as 'Cleve' or 'Grove.' All say to his credit that his phenomenal advance in public favor has not changed him a whit; that he is still the same quiet, unassuming citizen now as when he was a lawyer seeking clients. The old uncle, L. F. Allen, who gave him good advice, but very little else, when he reached here some thirty years ago on his way to Cleveland, Ohio, still lives here and is now past fourscore years. He persuaded his nephew to stop at this point and helped him to get a chance to study law by working mighty hard for it. He is an eccentric man, of strict business habits, and doesn't seem to take much interest in politics. He really knows less of the life of his relative than almost any man of repute you meet.

"Grover Cleveland came of a somewhat singular family. All his ancestors were men of ability, but they were always poor. The city is full of reminiscences of his life. Ever since his residence in Buffalo he has lived with his law books and in his profession. Although he is reputed to be a good, genial companion, fond of life and the world, he has shunned society and lived for his mother and sisters, who needed his help. Probably more preachers were reared out of his family than any other in the country. They all taught the doctrines of the Church for a small price and died poor. Mr. Cleveland's father left some ten children, about his only available assets when he died. Hence it went out that Grover Cleveland was too poor to marry until so well grounded in his bachelor ways that he could not be tempted from them by the comeliest girl in the land. It is true that he was and still is poor. It was not until a few years ago that he felt able to pay back the money he borrowed to bring him West in 1855. He only got his legal education by a pretty tough fight with adversity and it took him four years of drudgery in the office of Rogers & Bowen before he was admitted to practice.

"I went into the spacious offices this morning, but not one of the old firm was there. Only one is alive and he is in Europe. Mr. Cleveland's career as a lawyer is well defined in this region and his reputation well established. Mr. Mil-

burn, a bright young man, now a partner in the law-firm where the present Governor studied, said to me this morning :

“Governor Cleveland is the strongest character I ever knew. He is a fine lawyer. He is incapable of wilful wrong, and nothing on earth could swerve him from his conviction of duty. That he is thoroughly honest cannot be questioned, and he has always been regarded as an able and safe man in every relation of life.’

“This terse summing up of the nominee’s position at home is simply duplicated by the judges and lawyers with whom he has mingled. Among the laymen he seems to stand equally high. Republicans and Democrats alike speak of him as a man of the strongest character and highest attainments. Mr. James N. Matthews, who edits the *Express*, the leading Republican paper of the city of Buffalo, speaks for this sentiment as follows :

“‘I know of no Democrat better equipped for the position for which he has been named than Grover Cleveland. He is an able, honest and incorruptible man. He is self-reliant and has excellent judgment. When people speak of him as an obscure man it is but fair to say that he has long stood in the front rank with the very leaders of thought and action in this part of New York.’

“Grover Cleveland’s habits of life seem to have been as simple as the general conduct of the man has been unassuming. He dwelt in a quiet board-

ing-house, and when its mistress got a well-to-do son-in-law and quit business he used to take his Sunday morning breakfast at the Terrapin Lunch, a plain restaurant, where probably a terrapin was never seen. Old Major Randall, of the Lake Shore Railroad, was his companion. He died soon after Cleveland was made Governor. It was his oft-expressed ambition to live to see 'Grove,' as he called him, President. In 1863 he became Assistant District Attorney and carried the burden of the office for three years, to be beaten for District Attorney at the close of his term by Lyman K. Bass, his nearest friend. They afterward became law-partners. He was made Sheriff of this county by an accident. In fact, he never had an office that he was not forced into. In 1869 David Williams, superintendent of the Lake Shore Railroad, wanted to run for Congress. This district was close and he wouldn't make the effort with any of the aspirants for the Sheriffalty. It was the most important office to be filled and there was a bitter contest for it. The leaders got together and decided that Cleveland must run to help Williams. There wasn't much chance of an election, but they insisted that he must make the sacrifice for the party. He was then regarded as a good lawyer, with a good practice. He became the candidate and not only helped Williams, but squeezed in by a few hundred votes. During his term as Sheriff the office was well administered, and when the term was finished Mr. Cleveland went back to his law business.

"The fees of the Sheriff's office gave him his first financial start. He then made money at the law and saved something. His reputation is not that of a money-getter and money-saver. Had he been ambitious in this direction he could and would have been a rich man. In 1881 he was forced to be a candidate for Mayor. A popular revolt against the methods that were robbing the city swept him into this office. The Council was against him, but he vetoed every obnoxious measure it passed and his assaults upon the Aldermen were so vigorous that they did not dare to pass them over his objections.

"Here his veto of the street-cleaning job is regarded as the real beginning of his public career. Soon after he came into office the Council voted to award the street-cleaning contract for five years to George Talbot, a local politician of power at \$422,500 a year. There were several lower bids by thoroughly responsible men. Mayor Cleveland vetoed the award and severely condemned the attempted waste of the people's money. The contract was subsequently awarded to the lowest bidder, at \$109,000. The amount saved on this and an item for a sewer during the first six months of his administration was nearly \$1,000,000. These acts brought him into prominence and started him towards his present place. It was on account of his fearless fight in spite of large odds against public plunderers that he was pushed and elected by these people Governor. It is because they know

him to be perfectly honest and incorruptible that to-night all men, regardless of differing political affiliations, are rejoicing over his successes. Though his law-office and his bachelor quarters over there are silent, both are saluted as the abode of a man who has done well on a small beginning. If the record of his life is soon told, his own people point to it with pride and go bond to the country that he will do even better in the future. This is the tenor of all the speeches and of the talk of the people."

A well-known author, who recently visited Albany, writes about the executive mansion, the present home of Governor Cleveland, as follows: "Passing through Albany a few days ago I thought I would stop over and call on the Governor, if only to contrast the executive mansion with those bachelor quarters in Buffalo. It was one of those blistering hot days when Albany is indeed a city set upon a hill, and the new capitol looks from far up and down the river like the proverbial bushel that had been put over its light like an extinguisher.

"There are no coupés in Albany, and the current convenience of cabs is unknown. Public convenience is provided in the shape of open barouches, in which the modest author in search of information feels like a grand marshal on St. Patrick's Day and looks like an invited guest returning from a funeral. There was nothing to do in the dead heat of a sultry evening but to climb the hill or get into one of these chariots, and so I was

whisked up to the executive mansion in a vehicle that I felt was much too big for my mission. I say 'whisked,' because the drivers have acquired the habit of going to the Governor's house as if it were a matter of life and death. When you tell them to drive you to the executive mansion they take you summarily in from tile to toe-nails, and make up their minds with lightning speed whether it is a pardon or an appointment that you are after, neither of which will wait. Sweeping thus grandiosely into the Governor's grounds, up and around the house to the front entrance, I found the front doors swing open as I mounted the steps as if I were an aide-de-camp bringing the fate of a commonwealth in my despatches. A young man wearing a smile stood in the broad entrance. When I said I desired to see the Governor he invited me to walk 'right in,' and a moment after I traversed the broad, and, as we used to say, 'manorial hall,' with its flanking of old-fashioned saloon parlors, and sat down in a great airy, hushed, and shadowy reception-room. Nothing that I could see had changed since I was last in the place. There hung the great photograph of St. Peter's at Rome; there were the same bronzes and book-cases. The windows were open, and through them came the muffled stir of the city and the sharp twittering of the swallows in the trees outside. It was a drowsy, vacant place. I looked up and down the long rooms and passed out in the great hall. Not a

soul was visible. The warm summer draught swept across the great space. A beetle blundered in and struck the globe on the chandelier, and it gave out a sound like a far-away bell. I was suddenly convinced of the absurdity of dashing up to such a place in a flaming chariot. I wished I had come afoot and made my entrance softly and decorously. Presently a young man appeared at one of the open doors and said, 'Will you walk upstairs?' In the upper hallway, which, on account of its coolness, had been extemporized into an office, sat the Governor in a large arm-chair before a table which was covered with telegrams and letters. As I appeared at the entrance he said, in a hearty and inviting voice, 'Come right in.'

"Since Governor Cleveland came into office he has not been absent from his desk more than three weeks. His official life is monotonous. He reaches his office shortly after eight in the morning, opens his private letters, and at nine is ready to receive callers, many of whom are members of the Legislature, who come to explain the nature of their bills; therefore there is no lack of callers. In turn or in delegations he receives them, and this is kept up without interruption till one, when he goes to dinner. He takes an hour for dinner and to walk to and from his residence. By two he is surely in his office to see his callers. These he receives until long after six. Then he goes to tea, and at half-past seven is back in his office, when he locks

himself up to examine bills. After the Legislature adjourns he has more leisure. Men having business with him have learned his methods. They know he means what he says. Upon his words confidence and reliance can be placed, no matter how important or trivial the subject. Inquirers are pretty apt to quickly ascertain his views. He has that extremely rare faculty of reaching safe conclusions after a few moments' study. He is a man who seldom loses his temper unless persistently vexed by men who seek to argue him out of what he expresses and believes to be a safe and wise decision. He impresses men with his frankness and explicit manners, and visitors depart satisfied with the verdict. They quickly recognize the fact that his conclusions are reached from in-born conscientious motives. He is not swerved one jot or tittle by party or personal friendship to do what he thinks is not right. Hence his pardons and his vetoes show that they have been dictated by sound common sense."

Governor Cleveland has a vigorous, robust constitution. He possesses a large frame, is inclined to corpulency, has a nervous, sanguine temperament, light complexion, thin brown hair, with a tendency to baldness, and his general make-up is what ladies would properly decide to be good-looking.

All the traits of assiduous industry, unostentatious dignity, thoroughness and simplicity noted in

Grover Cleveland's early career are observable in his present life at Albany. On the day before his inauguration as Governor he came down from Buffalo quietly with his law-partner, Mr. Bissell, went to the executive mansion, and spent the night. On the morrow the city was excited with the approaching ceremonies. The streets were crowded, but there was to be no military parade, no procession. The Governor-elect walked from the executive mansion in company with his friend to the capitol, joining the throngs that were going that way. He entered the building unrecognized, but quite at his ease, sauntered up to the executive chamber, and was there met by Governor Cornell. The moment the inaugural ceremony was over he passed into the spacious executive chamber which is set apart for his use, ordered that the doors should be opened to admit everybody having business with him, and went immediately to work. Never was any important public event so completely stripped of its fuss and feathers; never was a more radical change effected in the official routine of the executive department. Hitherto there were all sorts of delays and impediments in the path to the Governor. Cards had to be sent in, ushers conducted citizens into ante-rooms and left them waiting for hours to see the Governor; but the moment Grover Cleveland took possession he issued an order to admit anybody at once who wished to see him. Up to the present time he has been quite

able himself to prevent this return to Democratic simplicity from being abused.

Governor Cleveland shakes hands with a good many people every day. Formerly the visitors to the great Capitol building asked to be shown the Senate Chamber, the Assembly Hall and the pictures: now they ask to see the big Governor. He treats them all alike. Shaking hands may make his hands sore, but it will never throw him off his guard. One would think a Presidential nomination would agitate a man somewhat, but the Governor simply said, "Go over and tell sister. She will be glad to hear it." He is a man of the most perfect equanimity. I should say he would have made a good surgeon, for he could cut a leg off and never flinch. He might sympathize very deeply with the unfortunate victim, for he has a warm heart, but if he thought his leg ought to be cut off it would have to come. What he thinks is right to be done he does with all the earnestness of a very strong nature. Of dissimulation he has none. I saw a workingman in his shirt-sleeves rush in to shake hands with him the other day, and a little later a United States Senator arrived to offer his congratulations, but I could not see that the Governor "shifted his position" in the least. He was the embodiment of simplicity towards both. He is a man you will find the same on Tuesday he was on Monday, and the same on Wednesday he was on Tuesday.

Easy enough to approach at any time when he has not something he thinks is more important to do than to talk to you, otherwise he shuts up very close. In some important methods of life he has not got very far away from the primary simplicity of childhood. And here comes in an anecdote I heard of him. The crier in one of the courts of Albany is a blind man, who lives in the same part of the city as the Governor. He is somewhat aged and has become so familiar with the road from his home over to the Court-House that he generally goes alone. But one morning, some months ago, he missed his way and the Governor coming along took him by the arm and brought him along with him as far as the Capitol building. As they were about to separate, the old gentleman asked the name of his considerate guide.

"My name is Cleveland," said the Governor.

"Are you in business in the city?"

"Yes. I have an office up here in the Capitol."

"Oh, you are not the Governor?"

"Yes. I am the Governor."

The poor old fellow was almost beside himself, and went on his way with a story to tell as long as he lived.

One morning since the Governor's nomination for President, as he was walking over from the Executive residence to the Capitol, he again found the old Court crier astray from his familiar path.

and again took him by the arm and helped him along as far as they went the same way. As they walked the old gentleman proceeded to tell of another time when he had got lost and how a kind-hearted man helped him out of his difficulty and how that kind-hearted man turned out to be Governor Cleveland. "Well, you have encountered the Governor again," was the quiet response. And then the poor old crier was almost beside himself. He had been escorted by a good Samaritan who might be the President of the United States. At least two stories and a mansard roof had been added to the good story he already had to tell, and again he went on his way rejoicing.

The Governor is full of the milk of human kindness and his heart is big enough to take in all mankind. Though a bachelor he has a most benignant face and can talk to you like a father. The pictures of him do not give his face as it is generally seen. He sometimes looks serious, but never cross or even austere. As soon as you see him you feel that you need not have any trepidation in speaking to him. Sometimes public men have a way of making everybody who attempt to come near them get down and crawl in the dust of humiliation, as if it was one of the gods of Bundelcund about to be approached, but not so with our big Governor of the big State of New York, and our big Presidential nominee of the big Democratic

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party. If he ever gets to the White House all the sisters will feel like he is their brother, all the cousins will feel like he is their cousin, and all the aunts will feel like he is their nephew. When he sits down there is not much room left between the arms of a pretty wide chair and he looks wonderfully comfortable and homelike. The other day when there were three or four gentlemen callers sitting or walking about in the Executive office, a bunch of countrywomen dropped in on their sight-seeing tour. After gazing about in some perplexity, as if they were looking for something they could not find to their entire satisfaction, the eldest and the supposable head of the party, ventured up to the Governor as the most approachable man she saw, and ventured to ask, "Which might be the Governor?" "Right here," said he, as he thumped himself on the bosom and went on with the business in hand. "Oh!" the lady ejaculated, and retired amid her blushes to the expectant group in the corner and then they all looked over and said, "oh!" in chorus.

When the Governor gets well settled in his chair, takes a good long breath and adjusts his glasses on the lower part of his nose, he looks as wise, as mellow and as sunshiny as Benjamin Franklin. He looks as though it would take a very considerable shock to knock him off his balance. I asked him the other day if he read the papers that abused him.

"Sometimes," said he, with a smile that broke out all over his face.

"Do you ever get disturbed over anything the way?"

"Not much. Every man has a right to enjoy his own mind. I remember an old fellow who was a neighbor of my father and we would sometimes try to get him to come over to our church. He was a strong Baptist, and he would always say: 'No, you folks are Presbyterians, and if I go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind.' Of course, that was the end of the argument."

"What is the most annoying slander they have ever published about you, Governor?"

"Well, I have been more surprised (and then he did twist just a little in his chair) at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men than anything else. I don't see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything that was against their best interests. It has been just the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known, and I am not uneasy as to the result. They

talk about the workingmen, said Governor Cleveland, as if they were a lot of sheep to be corralled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are naturally Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of the workingmen. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party will fail to vote for me, first, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude towards them has been misrepresented."

The Governor had grown serious enough to lay his glasses on the desk and wipe his face with an immense white handkerchief.

Last winter Governor Cleveland, having reason to believe that public money had been wasted or misappropriated in the repair of the arsenals and armories of this State, had an examination made, which confirmed his suspicions. At his request the Assembly appointed a special committee to investigate the matter. This committee filed its report at Albany yesterday. It finds that a systematic course of swindling has been going on for a number of years in the making of these repairs. The work was done, and in many cases very badly done, by favored contractors, to whom most extravagant prices were paid.

Among other gentlemen, Daniel Dougherty, the silvery tongued orator of Philadelphia, who now-

nated General Hancock for the Presidency at Cincinnati in 1880, shortly after the last Convention paid a visit to Governor Cleveland which he described to a reporter as follows :

"I saw the Governor," said Mr. Dougherty, "for the first time in my life, and I was perfectly charmed by his frank manner and dignified bearing. At Chicago I was not at the outset one of his adherents. But my meeting with the Governor and the conversation I had with him have convinced me that his is the best nomination we could have made. He is a man of comprehensive mind, of broad statesmanship, of free and independent views—a man who, while conserving all the interests of the Democratic party to which he will owe his election, will nevertheless be President of the whole country. All his official acts will be for the benefit of the whole people. That is the sort of President we want."

"What was the nature of your conversation with Governor Cleveland?"

"Oh, it was purely informal. He spoke about general political questions without any personal reference to himself. The rights and obligations of corporations and the toleration due to all forms of religious beliefs were freely discussed. From the tone of the conversation I am positive that while Governor Cleveland as President will adhere most rigidly to the vested rights of corporations he will never be their servant or their slave. His

very veto of the Five-cent Elevated Railroad Fare bill, above all things, proves to me his fitness for the office for which he has been nominated. Were he a vile demagogue he could have bought cheap renown by signing that bill. But he was influenced by what he considered to be strong constitutional objections of the bill, and he showed that he had the courage of his convictions. The same is true of his veto of the bill which seems to have aroused some opposition to him on the part of the Catholics. I have the personal assurance of such eminent men of that faith as Henry L. Hoguet, the President of the Immigrant Industrial Savings Bank, and ex-Senator Francis Kernan, that Governor Cleveland is free from all prejudice against the Catholics. We Catholics do not expect a President to violate any constitutional claims to oblige us, and we would be unworthy of our faith if we asked for any favors not consistent with constitutional obligations."

"Did Governor Cleveland express himself as regards the laboring classes?"

"There was no direct allusion to that effect in my conversation with him, but the laboring element can rely with greater security on the advocacy of their rights by a man like Cleveland and a great organization like the Democratic party than on the sudden devotion to their interests of any demagogue aspiring to national place. The coming campaign may be likened to the one when Abraham

Lincoln was first nominated. Mr. Lincoln was then not so well known as Mr. Cleveland is, and I think that Cleveland will be a Godsend to reform in the Republic as Lincoln was in crushing rebellion."

"Is Mr. Hendricks' nomination equally acceptable to you?"

"Equally so. The scene in the Convention when his name was mentioned is incomparable. There was nothing in the world like it. If it had been the result of a speech, it would have been the grandest triumph to oratory. It was started by the announcement of a single vote for Hendricks. During the half hour that the cyclone of enthusiasm raged it must have produced the most exquisite sensations to Mr. Hendricks, who was present. It seemed to me to be the climax of the argument against the fraud of 1876. If Tilden was out of the way here was the man to vindicate the wrong. I thought Cleveland's forces would be scattered by the tremendous demonstration and Hendricks sure of the nomination, but there never was a body of delegates more splendidly disciplined than the friends of Cleveland. Undismayed by the cyclone, they nominated Cleveland, and with a master stroke of policy made the ticket Cleveland and Hendricks. This ticket will undoubtedly sweep the country."

William A. Simmons, ex-collector of the Port of Boston, who is intimate with Butler, and was at

one time his campaign manager, asserted yesterday that the Massachusetts ex-Governor would most probably support Cleveland. If the support was hearty Massachusetts might be counted as a doubtful or a Democratic State. Indiana was certain for Cleveland. Nine-tenths of the Irish voters, he declared, would vote the straight Democratic ticket and Tammany Hall would help to swell Cleveland's majority. The questions of tariff and reform were the issues of the campaign. Mr. Simmons himself left the Republican ranks about a year ago because of the corruption inside the party.

An examination of Governor Cleveland's record shows the shallowness of the demagogic campaign lie started by the Blaine organs that the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is not friendly to workingmen. It shows, furthermore, that in his public utterances and his executive acts Mr. Cleveland has always had a genuine sympathy with the laboring classes and has ever been mindful of their best interests.

The first expression of his views on this subject after his name became familiar throughout the State was made in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor. In this letter, dated October 7, 1882, he said :

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes

on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

There is no uncertain tone here, no lack of sympathy with the cause of honest labor. Mr. Cleveland's record as Governor is entirely in keeping with these views. He has loyally adhered to them in the two messages which he has submitted to the Legislature, and with respect to every bill, whether signed or vetoed, on which he has been called to act.

Of the proposition to abolish contract labor in the State prisons Governor Cleveland said in his message last January: "The subject should be approached with the utmost care and deliberation. *The wages of the workingman should not be injuriously affected by the labor of convicts in the prisons.*" In the same document he renewed the earnest recommendation which he had made in his first message that more stringent laws be passed for the protection of depositors in savings banks. This recommendation was advanced in behalf of the poorer classes and working people.

The bill for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics was brought forward in the interest of the laboring classes. It received the cordial approval of Governor Cleveland and by his signature became a law. The bill providing that whenever any employer makes an assignment the wages

of the employés shall be paid before any other claims was designed to secure simple justice and substantial benefits to the laboring class. It was promptly signed by Governor Cleveland. The passage of the Tenement House Cigar act was asked for by thousands of workingmen. It became a law by the approval of Governor Cleveland.

Three vetoes have been cited by Governor Cleveland's enemies in their attempt to prejudice the laboring classes against him. Not one of these vetoes nor all of them together show the least lack of cordial sympathy on his part with the cause and interests of workingmen. The Five-Cent Fare bill, which he vetoed on constitutional grounds, was not intended to secure cheap fares for laboring men, nor would it have had that effect for the obvious reason that the fare was already five cents during the hours when ninety-five per cent. of the working people have to ride on the elevated roads. The foolish, demagogic bill to reduce the hours of drivers and conductors on horse cars was, as Governor Cleveland rightly said, "not in the interest of the workman." On the contrary, it would have operated against the welfare of the very men for whose benefit it was, with amazing shortsightedness, pretended to have been brought forward. A reduction of hours would inevitably have been attended with a corresponding reduction of the already scanty wages. The Mechanics' Lien Bill was vetoed for very good reasons, which had no bearing on the rights or in-

terests of laborers, and laborers are as well off now as they would have been had the bill become a law.

His course shows that he has been a staunch and consistent friend of the workingman and completely disposes of the malicious assertions to the contrary made by his political opponents to influence unthinking voters.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND SINCE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—
HOW HE RECEIVED THE NEWS OF HIS NOMINATION—CON-
GRATULATORY TELEGRAMS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUN-
TRY—HIS FIRST SPEECH AFTER THE NOMINATION—GEN-
ERAL ENTHUSIASM—HE DISCHARGES THE BUSINESS OF HIS
OFFICE WITH THE USUAL METHOD AND CARE.

THE first intimation Governor Cleveland received was when, sitting in his private room in the Executive Chamber of the capitol at Albany at work on routine business, he heard the boom of a cannon.

Adj.-Gen. Farnsworth was with him, and they were considering some matters concerning the State camp. Every other minute a blue-coated messenger interrupted the discussion with a bulletin of the voting at Chicago received from the Assembly telegraph office. When the announcement of Pennsylvania's change was read a few friends of the Governor, who had by this time dropped into the office, applauded vigorously. Still the Adjutant-General continued calling off the figures from the proof in his hand without watching to see if the Governor made corrections. At about a quarter to 2 o'clock Gen. Farnsworth first heard the cannon shot. He put up his hand and said, "Listen!" They listened. Then came another roar from the brass gun that

the Young Men's Democratic Club had stationed at the foot of State street. Gen. Farnsworth jumped to his feet and said:

"They are firing a salute, Governor, over your nomination."

"That's what it is," said Col. Lamont.

"Do you think so?" said the Governor. "Well, anyhow, we'll finish up this work," and at it they went again.

If any doubt remained as to what the booming of the cannon meant, it was soon dispelled by a telephone call which said:

"Tell the Governor he was nominated on the second ballot."

Col. Lamont, the private secretary of the Governor, conveyed the news. The Governor smiled. He did not seem to be at all nervous or excited. Hand-shakings occurred, and the Governor said suddenly:

"Lamont, I wish you would telephone that to the mansion. Sister will want to hear it."

The Governor, the Adjutant-General, and the private secretary retired to the chamber, the doors of which were thrown wide open. The Governor stood up and received the congratulations of the fifteen or twenty persons present. Then a stream of visitors came pouring in. Crowds were seen converging toward the Capitol. Many were ladies. It was a cosmopolitan crowd. The stream of visitors continued for nearly two hours. The Gover-

nor had nothing to say beyond expressing his thanks to those who offered congratulations.

Meanwhile congratulatory despatches began to arrive, and poured in until a bushel basket would not hold them. The first was from the Syracuse Democratic escort, received ten minutes after the news of the nomination. Among the telegrams received were the following :

Columbus.

I congratulate you and our country. We are now firing one hundred guns. Ohio leads the column for your victory.

GEO. HOADLY.

Chicago.

My choice from the beginning for the Presidency. I congratulate you upon your unanimous nomination to that great office. Texas will give you over 100,000 majority.

RICHARD B. HUBBARD.

Jersey City.

Accept congratulations. The Convention did the very best thing in your nomination. I am greatly pleased.

J. D. BEDLE.

Orange, N. J.

I heartily congratulate you upon your nomination.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

West Dublin, Pa.

I send you my heartiest congratulations, and hope your majority in November will be larger than your last.

JOHN O'BRIEN.

Wilmington, Del.

Accept my best wishes for your triumphant election, and assurance of my thorough and steadfast support in the canvass.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

Permit me to congratulate you on your nomination for President of the United States. It insures success to the Democracy in November next.

R. M. BISHOP.

Convention Hall, Chicago.

Pennsylvania congratulates New York.

W. U. HENSEL.

Chairman Pennsylvania State Committee.

BOSTON.

Your nomination is an endorsement of honest independence in public office. Accept my hearty congratulations.

LEOPOLD MORSE.

Chicago.

On behalf of the youngest of the sisters—Colorado—I congratulate you and promise you her three electoral votes.

T. O. O'DONNELL.

Chicago.

Glory, Hallelujah!

J. T. CAMPBELL of Alabama.

Chicago.

You were triumphantly nominated on the second ballot. I congratulate the country and you.

FRANCIS KERNAN.

New York.

I congratulate you upon your nomination, and confidently believe your fellow-countrymen will ratify it in November by an overwhelming majority.

SAMUEL D. BARCOCK,

Pres't Chamber of Commerce.

San Francisco.

California sends greeting, and will give you her electoral vote.

WM. D. ENGLISH.

In the evening a serenade was given to the Governor at the Executive Mansion by the Young Men's Democratic Club, who were joined by their invited guests, the Jacksonians. Thousands of citizens congregated in and about the Executive Mansion. The Tenth Regiment band played several selections, after which the Governor appeared at the main portico. He was received with much enthusiasm. He spoke as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representation of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people, as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes as certainly as death when the people weigh them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted. We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly

twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled—pure, just, and economical rule—and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better Government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage involves a struggle which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

During the following days congratulations continued to pour in from all parts of the country. On the day succeeding his nomination the Governor was at his desk in the executive chamber discharging the business of his office with his usual method and care. He is probably the most industrious and painstaking Governor the State of New York has ever had. During the eighteen months he has occupied the executive chair he has been absent from his post for less than a month in all. When

in Albany almost his entire time is spent in the Capitol or at the executive mansion. He keeps no horses, and walks the short half mile from the house to the chamber three times a day. With few exceptions, his evenings are passed in work at the Capitol. Except when engaged in very important matters, the rooms are open to all visitors, and the Governor is easily accessible to any one who desires to see him. To the many who called on the day succeeding his nomination, it was evident that the nomination of Governor Cleveland for President made little or no change in the routine of his department. He was engaged in the perusal of official papers until late in the afternoon, stopping only at times to greet a caller or read the despatches handed him by Col. Lamont. Of the hundreds received the following are some of those of special significance :

Governor Stoneman, of California, telegraphed :

"The Democratic administration of the State of California tenders its congratulations on your nomination for President. You may confidently count upon the electoral vote of the State of California."

Senator H. B. Payne, of Ohio, telegraphed :

"Please accept my sincere and joyful congratulations."

From Governor Bate, of Tennessee, came the message :

"Accept my congratulation for your nomination, together with my hope and belief that you will be elected."

Winslow Warren, Secretary pro tem. of the Massachusetts Reform Club, at its dinner at the Parker House, Boston, forwarded this despatch :

"The Massachusetts Reform Club, of Boston, consisting of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents, are rejoicing that you are selected to lead the opposition to Blaine. The club tenders its heartiest congratulations and assurances of enthusiastic support."

United States Senator Randall L. Gibson, of Louisiana, said :

"I beg to tender my cordial wishes for your election and the assurance that the people of Louisiana will respond to your nomination in the earnest hope that it may successfully appeal to the moral sense and comprehensive patriotism and national spirit of the young men of the country, who must feel that the time has at last come to obliterate sectional and wornout issues, and to insist upon greater responsibility, a higher sense of honor, economy, and genuine reform of our common government."

The first invitation to participate in a public event came from the managers of the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, who invited Governor Cleve-

land to be their guest some time in September during the exhibition.

Among the many gentlemen who called on Governor Cleveland was Senator R. Gibson, of Louisiana, who had been stopping at Saratoga a few days, and who in company with President White of the Louisiana State University at the invitation of the Governor paid him a visit. They had quite an extended conversation, and the senator went away much pleased. Meeting some friends, Mr. Gibson gave his opinion of the Democratic nominee as follows:

"I like him very much," he answered. "He is a man of plain, simple manner, and does not look as though he was pulled out of his boots by the suddenness with which fame has fallen upon him. I think he is just the man to lead in this movement. He is an honest, good, strong, hearty man, and his candidacy will raise our politics out of the old ruts. I have had a number of letters from old friends in the North expressing joy at his nomination. They say there is a chance now to get completely away from the past and to bring the best men of the South and the North together once more. I must say I am greatly pleased with the outlook. I believe that a strong sentiment in favor of reform is setting in, and that the culmination of it will be the election of Governor Cleveland."

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEADING JOURNALS ON THE NOMINATIONS—WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAY ON THE NOMINATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND AND THOMAS A. HENDRICKS. WITH BUT ONE EXCEPTION THE PROMINENT NEWSPAPERS OF NEW YORK CITY ARE OPPOSED TO BLAINE AND SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

THE present political contest will furnish an unusually good test of the power of the press in influencing political action.

The *New York Herald* the most conspicuous of all American newspapers, departs so far from its usual attitude of indifference as to print the names of the Democratic candidates at the head of its editorial columns and it goes into the fight with old-time enthusiasm. The *Times*, one of the two great Republican dailies, gives its support to Cleveland and it is joined by the *Evening Post*, a paper that has always been consistent to the honorable record of its founder, William Cullen Bryant, one of the founders of the Republican party. The *Sun* is strongly opposed to Blaine, and the *Stants Zeitung*, the great German daily, is earnestly for Cleveland. So also are the *World*, the *Journal*, *Truth*, the *Evening Telegram* and the *Evening News*. The *Graphic*, too, is for Cleveland. The *Journal of Commerce* is neutral and the *Commercial Advertiser*,

though Republican, is quite lukewarm toward Blaine and evidently will not exert itself much in his behalf. There remains only the *Tribune*, which led the Liberal Republican revolt of 1872, but now is the accepted Blaine organ.

To the anti-Blaine forces are also to be added such influential weeklies as the *Independent*, an old Republican organ with a very large circulation throughout the United States; *Harper's Weekly*, with its steadfast Republican record, and *Puck*, a very vigorous fighter. But this list might be prolonged indefinitely; it is sufficient to show that the press of New York city is all but unanimous in support of Governor Cleveland against Blaine.

The majority of the newspapers of other States, among whom we find the Boston *Transcript*, the Springfield *Republican* and other prominent Republican dailies have also declared in favor of the Democratic ticket.

The Boston *Globe*, one of the leading papers of New England, on the day after the nomination published the following editorial, which it headed "President Cleveland."

"The Democratic Convention at Chicago selected the next President of the United States when it bestowed the highest nomination in its gift upon Grover Cleveland, of New York.

"The Convention was composed of 820 of the best representatives of a party which has seen the birth and death of every other party, save one,

during our existence as a nation. The exception is the Republican party, and Grover Cleveland's nomination means that the grand old organization which has stood defeat after defeat for nearly a quarter of a century, will once more grasp the crown of victory in November and bury its great rival beyond hope of resurrection.

"Grover Cleveland is a man who challenges the support of every newspaper and every man who desires honest government. He will again set up that standard of honesty and the practical exemplification of good government which every lover of his country desires and has the right to expect from such an administration as the nominee will give to the United States. Hence Grover Cleveland will have the hearty support of the *Globe* in the campaign upon which we have now entered.

"Of his triumphant election we have not a shadow of a doubt.

"We do not take any stock in the attempts of the Republican papers to show that our foreign voters will go for Mr. Blaine. In the first place, these Republican papers have insulted what they call the foreign voters times without number. Now, in the vain hope of securing some of their votes, they are extremely complimentary to men they earnestly despise. In the second place, the men designated have always righteously resented this constant reiteration of the statement that they are foreigners. They are here to stay. They are American citizens, and are proud of the fact. Many of them helped to fight our battles. They believe in this home of the brave, this land of the free, and are as proud of and as loyal to America as any of our citizens. They are as true as steel to the Demo-

cratic party and its principles, and see that through their triumph will American citizenship be best protected, whether at home or abroad.

"Governor Cleveland will be supported by a united and aggressive Democratic party. He will have the votes of tens of thousands of independent Republicans. He will have the support of the larger part of successful newspapers of the country, both secular and religious. He will have the confidence and votes of the business men of the land. It will be shown that this poor boy who has worked his way up to the proud position which he now holds knows what it is to work day in and day out, and that he is a true friend of the toiling masses. It will be demonstrated in a thousand ways that he is the man upon which all the opposition to Mr. Blaine can best be concentrated. It will be shown that Grover Cleveland will be elected."

The comments of the independent newspapers of New York and New England upon Mr. Blaine's nomination are so positive that their meaning and intentions cannot be mistaken. The New York papers long distinctively independent are the *Herald*, *Sun* and *Staats Zeitung*. The *Herald* believes that every man who cares for the purity of public life and the welfare of the country must regret such a nomination. It thinks, however, that the choice will be accepted by a large number of voters with something of grim satisfaction, as it will enable the party and the country to bury out of sight so bad a candidate as James G. Blaine by an overwhelm-

ing defeat. It believes that these voters may now congratulate themselves that they are in a fair way to have done with Blaine forever. The *Herald* believes that Cleveland is the most available as well as the best Democratic candidate.

The *Sun* is of opinion that while many Republicans will oppose Mr. Blaine his weakness will not come so much from his old transactions in railway bonds and in the Mulligan letters as from his Quixotic policy when he was Secretary of State. Of the ensuing campaign the *Sun* says:

"But those who imagine that because of such disaffection the country is now to witness a spiritless canvass and an easy triumph for the opposition are, in our judgment, very much in error. Mr. Blaine is a fertile and sensational politician and he will force the fighting from the start. Moreover, a party in power is always hard to beat, and the Republican party can outdo in this respect all others that ever existed outside of Mexico. It will not be enough to defeat Mr. Blaine at the polls. It will not be enough to have against him an immense majority of the people. It will not be enough to have a majority of the electoral college. Fraud and force will be brought into play by the Republican officeholders in 1884 just as freely as they were in 1876. Mr. Blaine is a man of desperate expedients. His party is a desperate party."

The *Truth* and the *Journal* are also opposed to Mr. Blaine and express their confidence in his in-

ability to carry the country with him when its sober sense is taken, as must be the case after a canvass of four months.

The *Times* has long been the great Independent newspaper of New York city inside the Republican party. During the preliminary canvass it waged bitter warfare upon Blaine. It now repudiates him with a positiveness which shows that it has crossed the Rubicon and burned its bridges. The *Times* is confident of Mr. Blaine's defeat, of which and the consequences it says:

"There will be nothing ambiguous about the defeat of Mr. Blaine. He who runs may clearly read the verdict in advance: 'A candidate unworthy of confidence and a party too careless of its own honor to be longer trusted with the nation's.' That defeat will be the salvation of the Republican party. It will arouse its torpid conscience, it will stir it to self-purification, it will depose the false leaders who have fastened themselves upon it, it will send the rogues to the background and will make the party once more worthy of power."

As to its own position in the canvass it says, with a plainness that cannot be mistaken:

"The *Times* will not support Mr. Blaine for the Presidency. It will advise no man to vote for him, and its reasons for this course are perfectly well understood by everybody that has ever read it."

The *Evening Post*, all of whose traditions are

independent and which has been the leading Republican evening paper for a generation, early led the fight against Blaine. It now announces that his defeat is certain and that its magnitude depends largely upon the action of the Democrats. It believes that the nomination of Cleveland leaves the Republican candidate without a remaining chance. Its own position is well presented in the following extract:

"The Chicago Republican Convention asks a large and, by every one's admission, influential minority to accept a candidate whom it believes to represent more than aught else the base and corrupt office-holding element in American politics. What makes the matter all the worse is that the situation thus created is one in which no compromise is possible. What is to be the issue from this deplorable and disastrous, but deliberately created, muddle, it is yet too soon to forecast. That Mr. Blaine cannot be elected we look on as certain. Whether he can be defeated without ruining the organization which is being prostituted in the service of his selfish ambition remains to be seen. Whatever happens, we believe a great political purification will be the result, and we shall somehow have a party which will represent the American people in its noblest mood and will adequately express the national respect for the virtues by which governments as well as homes are maintained and defended."

The Boston *Advertiser* has long been the leading Republican newspaper of New England. But it

has been gradually getting away from the position of an organ and has manifested a tendency toward Independence. It now asserts that to a large section of the Republican party the nomination of Mr. Blaine will appear ominous of disaster.

We need not enter upon any formal declaration of our own entire agreement with those Republicans who thus fail to find in the nomination any fit expression of the established principles and avowed aims of the Republican party. We declare our inability to support Mr. Blaine, either in the present aspect of the political field or in any which now seems likely to present itself.

The *Boston Herald* has been Independent for many years, with strong Republican leanings. It now concedes that Mr. Blaine is a representative Republican, representative of the aims, methods, principles and purposes of the "jobbing and trading politicians" who shape its action and contribute to its success. With this assumption it announces its own purposes :

"It is perhaps well that the party should ask the judgment of the people under the leadership of a candidate who embodies more completely than any other man the real spirit of Republicanism. Mr. Blaine is no stool-pigeon nor mask. There is no cant of reform about him. The people know him. Believing that Mr. Blaine would be a bad and dangerous President we hope to see him defeated.

Believing him to be a weak candidate we expect to see him defeated. If the Democrats rise to the occasion, nominate Governor Cleveland and give him an honest support, we believe they will carry the election."

The Springfield *Republican* has long been as prominent for its unwavering Republicanism as for its undoubted independence inside the lines of its party. It now says :

"The Republican party, dazzled with the qualities which please the mob, have placed Mr. Blaine in nomination, thereby giving to the Democratic party the greatest opportunity it has ever had to recover power by nominating a clean, able, safe and progressive statesman like Grover Cleveland. New York is the vital State, and the nomination of Cleveland, with his views in favor of revenue reform and civil service reform, and his efficient administration, would undoubtedly win the support of the Independent vote. If the Democrats will only rise to the magnitude of their opportunity they will make a strong appeal to the plain people who prefer an unsullied, honorable and safe leader like Governor Cleveland to a demagogue of the speculative school of pretended statesmanship."

The accomplished editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who represented the Independent movement in the National Convention, and who now best represents their present position in connection with their

"bolt," thus succinctly states what that position is in that journal of a late issue. He says:

"There are plenty of Republicans who do not feel any obligation of any kind to support bad Republican nominations. They see that to insist upon support of the regular candidate without regard to his character or career, for the reason that to oppose him would endanger the party, is to hold either that the party can never nominate an unfit candidate, or that however unfit a candidate may be and whatever light his nomination may throw upon the party, nobody who has ever voted with the party would be justified in voting against him. This is a doctrine which no self-respecting man and no intelligent Republican can hold; and the Republican protest of this year will have been most serviceable if it should do no more than show more clearly than ever what this journal has always maintained, that the first duty of a citizen is not to a party, but to his own conscience."

The *New York Times*, one of the most influential and ably edited Republican newspapers, says:

"With Grover Cleveland as its candidate the Democratic party appeals with unmistakable directness to the moral sense of the people of the United States. Shall the next President be a man who has weakly yielded to temptation, or a man who has unswervingly adhered to the right against great temptations to do wrong? A man who begs pecuniary rewards of those his official action has enriched, or one who defies corrupt dictation and seeks only by a just course to deserve the approval

of all honorable and right-thinking men? This is the supreme issue. It is this which the voters of the republic are to decide. It is not the issue of protection; the tariff has nothing to do with it. The honest convictions and patriotism of ten millions of voters are appealed to, and they will settle this question conclusively and for the right.

"It is not only in what he clearly represents, but in what he opposes, that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. In the administration of public trusts he has shown that he is superior to partisan bias and opposed to all party measures that are in conflict with official probity and the public welfare. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible position he now occupies as Governor of the great Empire State. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians and defeated the plans of selfish schemers. All members of his own party who are not striving for private gains which are in conflict with the public good are outspoken in his praise, and he has won the good opinion of all men who are not so biased by partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.

"Could a candidate find stronger recommendation than this in the opinion of voters whose political actions are shaped solely by considerations of the public good? The official acts which have won for Governor Cleveland the intense hostility of all jobbers and disreputable men are the very acts which have most strongly commended him to the support of honest voters."

The New York *Herald* prints the names of the candidates of the Democratic party at the head of its editorial columns, and on the day succeeding the convention published the following editorial :

"We congratulate the Democratic party upon the work of its convention at Chicago and the opportunity it offers to the American people through a union of patriotic voters, by whatever name they call themselves—Democrats, Independents, Labor Reformers, or whatsoever else—to redeem the country from the disgrace and peril to which the Republican party has plotted to expose it by the thoroughly bad nominations of Blaine and Logan. Cleveland's easy nomination on the second ballot justifies all that we have said of the sound judgment and good sense of this convention when put to a decisive test of choosing between what is vital, sound and vigorous in the democracy and what is very much the other way, and the convention is to be congratulated upon the fact that it has named the man who will be the next President.

"Parties in this country are now at a turning-point in their history, and it is for the democracy, if it hopes to impress its convictions upon the life of the nation, to take this turn in the tide at its happy moment, or it must remain stranded with the wrecks of its past history. The nomination of Cleveland means that the young democracy is determined to take the tide at its flood. We believe also that it is a nomination which will command the approval of the aged and sagacious as well as the enthusiasm of the vigorous and youthful."

The *Philadelphia Ledger*, the great newspaper owned by Mr. George W. Childs, which is independent in politics, speaks in an ably-written editorial in regard to the nominations of the Democratic Convention as follows :

"The delegates thus made a wise determination for their party and a good one for the country. Governor Cleveland has shown through the whole of his life, private and public, from boyhood to his present distinction, that he has the sterling qualities befitting the exalted office of Chief Executive of the United States. It is the highest function of that office to administer the laws with an eye single to the public welfare. Our government has been tersely described as 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.' No eminent public man has exhibited a better understanding of that definition of the American government than Grover Cleveland; none has exemplified it better than he has in his performance of public duty, and but few, very few indeed, have exemplified it so well. His guiding characteristics have been loyalty to duty, courage in the discharge of it, and the best and most faithful performance of it within his power. These are strong words; strong because they are true.

"The traits we have mentioned are not revelations of his public career alone. They showed themselves in his early boyhood, when as a store-boy he won by his faithful work the good-will and strong attachment of his employers; again, as a teacher of the blind; again, as law-clerk and law-student, battling his way through most discourag-

ing difficulties; again, as Assistant District Attorney and lawyer; as Sheriff of his county, as Mayor of Buffalo, and as Governor of the State of New York. He is known among his neighbors (the humblest and the highest) as a man to rely upon, 'safe to trust to do what is right.' These characteristics, with his bright intelligence and strong abilities, have given him his distinctions and preferments, for the office has always sought him and not he the office.

"Cleveland won our admiration by his three marked traits of character—his indomitable industry, unpretentious courage, and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook.' This is the testimony of one of his associates in the law office in which he passed from boyhood to vigorous manhood. It bespeaks a fully-equipped man, and that is the man he has shown himself to be in fighting the battles of the people against the combined spoliemen and 'rings' of his city and State. There have been men, and there are men now, with noble ideals of what true and pure government means as a trust held for the people. It has happened to but few of these to have the opportunity to realize their ideal in office, and of those who have had the opportunity fewer still have carried the ideal into consistent, inexorable practice. Governor Cleveland is one of those who have. In his view and in his practice as a public officer the money of the people and the interests of the people are held as trusts *for* the people, to be exercised as carefully, as faithfully, and as honorably as the most sacred private trust. His views of public office, as here expressed, are his guides in every performance of

public duty; so it may be repeated that a man with such traits of private and public character, broad-minded and bright-minded, self-poised, self-reliant, independent and courageous as Governor Cleveland is, has the sterling qualities that befit the office of President of the United States."

The *N. Y. Truth*, on the day after the convention, published the following editorial:

"As between Cleveland and Blaine no Democrat will hesitate, and no Republican ought to. In all the offices he has held he acquitted himself creditably and came out of them unspotted. He made a good Mayor; he makes a good Governor. Who can doubt that he will make a good President? He has made mistakes, no doubt, but who has not? He has never made a mistake by which his integrity was compromised. If he vetoed the Five-cent Fare bill it was not for the purpose of claiming a reward from the elevated railroad corporations. His record is a clean one, his character is unimpeachable, his principles are known and sound. He would make a safe President both for the business interests of the country and in the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign powers."

The *N. Y. Staats Zeitung*, one of the most influential German daily papers, says:

"It cannot be honestly denied that a change of parties in office, brought about without revolution, can only have a wholesome effect. No party can continue a long, uninterrupted possession of power

without becoming a prey to corruption. The Republican party has furnished ample proof of this. Mr. Cleveland's record as chief magistrate of a large city and a great State has made him in the popular mind the prototype of a conscientious official, unwavering in principle, and one who, to the deep chagrin of professional politicians, has always held the public interest above party considerations. Mr. Cleveland will certainly use the whole power of the presidential office to purify the federal service and to keep it pure, and this, above all, is expected by the people of the President. Wherever corruption has taken root he would not, as would be the case with a Republican President, have to exercise leniency, and he will take proper precautions in order that the corruption may not be continued under the Democratic *régime*. No earthly power will be able to induce him to let corruptionists use the influence of his high office.

"The point has been forcibly made in Chicago that Cleveland's strength among the German-Americans is especially great, and this has, as we learn from good sources, contributed essentially toward securing him the nomination. The sympathies of the Germans for Cleveland were placed in direct and strong contrast to the enmity of the spoils politicians who comprise Tammany's strength. The Germans were recognized in Chicago as a model political element, which holds reform measures paramount over all other considerations, and which cannot be made to swerve from this deep rooted opinion by party consideration or that kind of patriotism commonly called State pride. Blaine's political record has principally brought about the decided aversion of the Germans against him, and

his identification with the prohibitionists and knownothingism has given additional strength to this aversion.

"The Republican party has since Blaine's nomination entirely lost the hold it once had on the Germans, which had been greatly weakened after the slavery issue had been disposed of, and especially since the Republican party became a synonyme for corruption. Hence the nomination of Mr. Cleveland will make it especially advisable for the Germans to join *en masse* the Democratic party. The large northwestern States, where the Germans have for so many years enabled the Republican party to maintain its power, have, under these circumstances, become doubtful States, and we may expect a great political revolution in Indiana and Wisconsin, and perhaps even in Illinois."

The *Boston Transcript* (Rep.) in the following editorial predicts that the independent voters will elect the next President :

"No candid Republican can fail to admire the courage and sagacity which induced the Democratic Convention to nominate Governor Cleveland for President, despite General Butler's enmity, the threats of Kelly and his mercenary gang to control the result. The political foresight of the convention gloriously triumphed, in spite of all the strenuous efforts that interested demagogues put forth to obscure and mislead its judgment. Butler and Kelly have been virtually told that they must support the candidate whose independent course has excited their bitterest wrath or leave the Democratic party."

WHAT MR. TILDEN THINKS OF THE TICKET.

A reporter had an interview with Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, at Greystone, near New York, shortly after the Chicago Convention had made the nominations.

"Mr. Tilden, how do you regard the nomination of Cleveland?" was asked.

"It is a good nomination. Mr. Cleveland is very popular and I think he will beat Blaine."

"What do you think of the nomination of Hendricks?"

"It is rather queer that Mr. Hendricks should be put in the second place upon the ticket. He will give it great strength, however, especially in Indiana and the West. Mr. Hendricks is a man who would sacrifice his own ambition for the benefit of the party, and, of course, will do all in his power to help his own election. I had an idea that he was not so popular as the outburst in his favor at the convention proved."

"Will you take any part in the campaign?"

Mr. Tilden smiled sadly as he replied:

"No. I have withdrawn from political life forever. Still I want to see this great country in honest hands before I die."

From Orlando B. Potter, of Tammany Hall, the following telegram arrived on the day succeeding the convention: "Having honestly and earnestly labored for another nomination, I accept the people's choice as my law, and will devote what-

ever ability I possess to your election." Judge Barrett of the Supreme Court, cabled from London: "I congratulate the country upon your nomination." Many like messages came from Americans in Berlin, Paris and other foreign points. Isadore Wormser, the banker, sends his congratulations all the way from Aachen, Germany. Mr. D. Willis James, head of the house of Phelps, Dodge and Co., says: "My warmest congratulations. Now for constant, faithful work to render your election absolutely certain. I pledge my most earnest support."

Especially noticeable is the large number of messages from young men's clubs. The young men are taking hold of the Governor with the greatest enthusiasm. They indicate a genuine revolutionary uprising, and even the most sanguine friends of Governor Cleveland were hardly prepared for so generous a response to his nomination.

Mr. John De Mott, the New York banker, said:—"I believe the success of the Democratic party will be very beneficial to all interests when the records of the two men named upon it are considered. Judging Mr. Cleveland's future by his past, and remembering his record from the moment he entered political life, one can see at a glance that every step he has taken has been marked by honesty, a strict regard of duty and sterling integrity. *In his case position has always sought the man,*

not the man the position, and as a public officer he has done more to destroy political rings than any other man who has been invested with executive power for a long time. His fight for right and justice for the taxpayers of the city of New York brought him into disfavor with 'Tammany Hall.'

Mr. Matthias B. Smith, a founder of the firm of Dun, Barlow & Co., said:—"I think the nomination of Governor Cleveland should be regarded as a real cause for congratulation, not alone by his own party, but by all Americans who have business or other interests at stake. In his administration as Governor he has shown a prudence and capacity that guarantee the best results should he be called to the Chief Magistracy. I think his election would conduce to promote the interests of the commercial community, and he would suffer no sudden changes to be made which would unsettle business or in any way deteriorate from the national prosperity.

"I think Cleveland's nomination the best and strongest that could be made," said General George B. McClellan, at his charming residence on the brow of Orange Mountain last evening to a *Herald* reporter. "I believe he will be elected," the General continued. "He will carry New Jersey, of course, and by a handsome majority. The Democratic platform is a very good one."

Mr. J. C. Havemeyer, in reply to a question as to whether he thought the election of Cleveland

would have a simulating effect on business, said :—
“ The present administration tends to foster monopolies, and I believe the sentiment of the business men is to change this policy as soon as possible. Mr. Cleveland, I think, is the right man to change this system. He represents the reform element of his party. He has shown in his administration that he had more regard for the real interests of the people than for the interests of the politicians. Therefore he has gathered about him all that is good and has made enemies of all that is bad ; and this, it seems to me, is a very healthy condition. This has made him prominent.”

“ What do you think of the principles set forth in the platform ? ”

“ Platforms upon which a candidate stands before the public are of no consequence in a case like this. I look more to the man than to the platform, for platforms are framed to catch votes. Mr. Cleveland is not a partisan, and that is why I like him. I think he is an extremely safe man to be President, and I believe he will be elected.”

CHAPTER VII

MR. CLEVELAND NOTIFIED.

A NOTABLE GATHERING IN ALBANY—THE SCENE AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION WHEN THE NOMINEE WAS OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF HIS SELECTION. THE GOVERNOR'S DIGNIFIED REPLY. A RALLY AT NIGHT.

THE committee charged with the duty of formally presenting the edict of the last Chicago Convention and those public characters who accompanied them in performing the task made up an assemblage of notables, such as had not for years, if ever, been gathered together for a like purpose. Every train and boat which came in this morning brought prominent Democrats from all parts of the country, and before noon the rotunda of the Delevan House presented much the appearance of one of the Washington hotels when Congress is in session. Besides men of prominence in the politics of almost every State in the Union the members of the national Democratic and Congressional committees were on hand. About noon ex-Speaker Randall arrived and was all day surrounded by a large crowd of admirers. Perhaps there were fifty prominent personages, representing the best elements of the party, brought here to see and partici-

pate in the notable event made doubly so by the character of the assemblage.

At ten o'clock the national committee met at the Delevan House, but its chairman, ex-Senator Barnum, was not present and Congressman J. S. Barbour, of Virginia, presided. It transacted no business except to name an executive committee, consisting of William H. Barnum, Connecticut, ex-officio; A. P. Gorman, Maryland; M. W. Ransom, North Carolina; B. F. Jonas, Louisiana; Hubert O. Thompson, New York; William A. Wallace, Pennsylvania; John S. Barbour, Virginia; William F. Vilas, Wisconsin; Austin H. Brown, Indiana; M. M. Hamm, Iowa; H. D. McHenry, Kentucky; P. H. Kelly, Minnesota; Bradley B. Smalley, Vermont; A. W. Sulloway, New Hampshire; F. W. Dawson, South Carolina; W. W. Armstrong, Ohio; Miles Ross, New Jersey; S. Corning Judd, Illinois; J. B. Barnaby, Rhode Island, and John G. Prather, Missouri. Charles J. Canda, of New York, was re-elected treasurer. The committee adjourned about noon to meet again at three o'clock to accompany the notification committee to the Executive Mansion.

It was about ten minutes past three o'clock when the Democratic Phalanx, of Albany, a fine-looking body of men, headed by a band, appeared at the Delevan House to escort the notification committee and distinguished visitors to the Executive Mansion. *Despite* the rain and mud they marched through

the street, while the committees were taken up in carriages. Along the line of march, in spite of the inclement weather, there were crowds of people gathered. It was after half-past three o'clock when the procession reached the Governor's house. The mansion had been thrown open before the visitors reached there and quite a number of prominent men had gathered in the parlors, which had been beautifully decorated for the occasion. In the centre of each, at the foot of the large mirrors that hang against the walls, there were great banks of flowers, and other floral decorations were placed about the rooms. It was just four o'clock when the committees were all gathered in the east parlor ready to receive the nominee, and Colonel Vilas stepped toward the centre of the room.

At this moment Governor Cleveland entered the room alone, stepped across it and, with his back to the bank of exotics, waited Colonel Vilas' speech. He was received with a round of applause as he faced the company. The room at this moment presented a very interesting picture. It was well crowded with leading men of his party. To his right stood his two sisters, Mrs. W. E. Hayt, of Fayetteville, in this State, and Miss R. E. Cleveland, the maiden sister who still lives in the little home cottage at Holland Patent. To his left and near Mr. Bissell, of Buffalo, his law partner, were his two nieces, Miss Mary and Carry Hastings, daughters of his sister who for twenty odd years

had been a missionary at Ceylon. These young ladies the Governor is educating in this country. Near them were Colonel Lamont, the Governor's private secretary, and his wife and a few other ladies, and beyond stood Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*, and Senators Matt Ransom, Jonas and O. P. Gorman. Toward the front were ex-Speaker Randall, Judge Abbott, Congressman P. A. Collins and General M. T. Donahue, of Massachusetts, and other notable men.

Just as the Governor looked the audience full in the face Colonel Vilas stepped forward and said :

"Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York : These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention which recently assembled in Chicago and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you officially and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demands with the interesting result of its deliberations, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news.

"Sir, that august body, convened by direct delegation from the Democratic people of the several States and Territories of the Republic, and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freemen ever gathered to such a conference in forethought of the election which the Constitution imposes upon them to make during the current

year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their President for the next ensuing term of that great office, and with grave consideration of its exalted responsibilities have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this committee the Convention's high requirement is delivered that you accept that candidacy.

"This choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration, but it has been in no manner the fruit of these sentiments. The National Democracy seek a President, not in compliment for what the man is or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people, fit for their lofty trust. Always of a momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance, that a laborious reform in administration as well as legislation is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the Republic, and a competent Chief Magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trusts you have held, especially of that with which you are now so honorably invested. They place reliance for the usefulness of the service they expect to exact for the benefit of the nation upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proof of character and competence to

justify their confidence that in the nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be administered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor can dismay or qualify. In the spirit of the wisdom and invoking the benediction of the divine Creator of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of the nation His words in commendation and ratification of our choice, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things.' In further fulfilment of our duty the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the committee."

These remarks were frequently interrupted by applause, for they were delivered with masterly effect. The speaker, who has a perfectly trained voice, seemed to intend from the start to get the best effects possible out of his splendidly turned sentences. During this delivery the Governor kept his eyes steadily fixed upon the speaker. He stood with his right hand between the buttons of his Prince Albert coat and looked much like a well-settled business man. Two or three times he seemed to be affected by the speaker's eloquent words, but he quickly regained his self-possession and listened attentively. As Colonel Vilas closed *Secretary Bell*, of the committee, began to read

the formal letter of notification, which was as follows :

"To the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York :

Sir: In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of the communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention, which assembled at Chicago on the 8th day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office, which we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people with a hope of establishing and maintaining them in the government was made by the Convention, and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of this expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen. The election of a President is an event of the utmost importance to the people of America. Prosperity, growth, happiness, peace and liberty even may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will most contribute to secure those great objects. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate you will have the steadfast, cordial support of the friends of the cause you will represent, and in the execution of the duties of the

high office which we confidently expect from the wisdom of the nation to be conferred upon you, you may securely rely for approving aid upon the patriotism, honor and intelligence of this free people. We have the honor to be, with great respect, etc."

The address was signed by all the members of the committee.

The reading embarrassed and somewhat interrupted the harmony of the addresses, as all were anxious to hear Governor Cleveland. The letter being finished, the Presidential candidate replied in a clear, distinct tone of voice as follows :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation ; and yet, when as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to entrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not, at this moment, congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part *which has been assigned to me.*

"Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which, more than all others, gives to the action of my party in Convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people. If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny, where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests.

"These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of an honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continue

ous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

"I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and trite though they are it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause."

Twice Mr. Cleveland was interrupted by applause and his reply made a powerful impression upon his listeners. He spoke entirely without notes and never for a moment under these most trying circumstances lost his perfect self-control. His tones were clear and distinct, and although he was making the effort of his life up to the present hour he did not falter under the very severe test of making an address of this character from memory. Even so trained a public speaker as Mr. Blaine read his reply to the committee of notification rather than trust himself to his memory.

Governor Cleveland's was the central figure of a very picturesque scene. As the candidate finished speaking the audience began to press forward to shake his hand and congratulate him. The chairman of the committee and Secretary Prince introduced each member, and for the time the parlor presented a very animated scene. In the throng,

besides those above mentioned, were ex-Senator Stockton, of New Jersey; Congressman Perry Belmont, Erastus Corning, Colonel George H. Bardwell, of Pennsylvania; Congressman G. H. Oury, of Arizona, and many other important people of State and national fame. After the handshaking was over the company was invited to partake of a lunch, and an hour or more was spent in eating and talking. The Governor mingled freely with the guests who stayed to partake of his hospitality. It was well on toward night before all had departed, and the notable event was a thing of the past.

A reception was given directly after the notification at the Fort Orange Club House. This is an entirely non-partisan club, but it joined in honoring the distinguished guests. After a liberal collation speeches were made by General Hooker, Governor Waller and Judge Parker, and the following important telegram was read by Senator Thacher:—

GREYSTONE, July 29, 1884.

TO DEMOCRATIC PHALANX, ALBANY:—

I received last evening your invitation to attend the meeting this evening under the auspices of the Albany Democratic phalanx for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of Cleveland and Hendricks. Although I cannot be present in person with my old friends in Albany on that interesting occasion, I cordially co-operate with them in support of the excellent nominations by the Democratic National Convention, and feel assured that

in its success at the election, of which there is every promise, the country will achieve a substantial victory for the cause of good government.

S. J. TILDEN.

In conversation with Speaker Randall at the Fort Orange Club, he said :—"The Democratic platform in its tariff plank is the most intelligent statement of the case ever presented in any public or private document. It meets the case in every point exactly as the country likes to have it. When we arrive at the point of protecting industries to the extent of the difference between the cost of production here and that of production elsewhere, that is all that is wanted. There need be no talk either of high protection or infant industries."

In the evening two very large and enthusiastic ratification meetings were held at the Music Hall and the Leland Opera House, when addresses were made by Col. Vilas, ex-Speaker Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, Governor Waller, of Connecticut, General Charles F. Hooker, of Mississippi, A. V. Stevenson, of Illinois, Congressman Patrick C. Collins, of Massachusetts, Jos. Pulitzer of the *New York World*, and Col. John R. Fellows, of New York.

There is a tone of Democratic simplicity and an air of dignified sincerity in the proceedings of notification and in the speeches, characteristic of the *men and the occasion*, the more notable for the

remarkable contrast presented with the theatrical demonstration at Augusta. As in the one scene we saw a company of charlatans and speculators playing a game of vainglorious pretence and organizing a display to strike the imagination of feeble-minded admirers, so in the other we perceive a group of unpretentious gentlemen discharging a public duty in a plain, manly way and exchanging greetings related to the subject in hand. There was nothing brilliant or *magnetic* in what was said by or to Governor Cleveland, but there was a deal of sound common sense on both sides.

Mr. Vilas was happy in his statement of the point of the case when he said:—"The national Democracy seek a President not in compliment for what the man is or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people fit for their lofty trust." That is to say, the Democracy is not giving rewards or booming favorite sons or *magnetic* politicians, but is endeavoring to secure the welfare of the nation by putting into the Presidency a man who will overhaul the administration of the government, correct the abuses he finds and prevent plunder and other villany. That is the correct standard of choice, and one that seems to be too little understood by the friends of various aspirants for the nomination, who make it a grievance that a new man was preferred to some one of forty old

war-horses. The new man is what the nation wants.

But a party needs a certain guarantee that the man it chooses for the execution of its will shall have the mettle for the duty, and such guarantee it must find in what he has done. This conception was well presented by the quotation from the New Testament—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." Evidently the Democrats of the country at large have observed Governor Cleveland's conduct in his present office more closely than some of those near-by Republican editors who object that he has not had such experience as would qualify him for the duties of the Presidency. In truth, there is no office in this country more nearly analogous to the Presidency than that of Governor of this State, and no place where a man can be so well trained for Washington as at Albany, and this the whole people will in due time discover.

CLEVELAND ENDORSED BY THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS.

The Independent Republicans of the United States held a conference on Tuesday, July 22, in the city of New York, which was a success far beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine of its promoters. It was a gathering representing the *best elements* of the party of Abraham Lincoln in

contradistinction to the party of Jim Blaine. Jack Logan and Steve Elkins. Over six hundred delegates were in attendance, and each one a representative of the best intellect and the strictest integrity of the Republican Party.

The chairman of the conference, Col. Charles R. Codman, sounded the keynote of the prevailing sentiment, when he said: "I do not hesitate to say, that the defeat of Mr. Blaine should be compassed by all honorable means. It seems to me that the cause of good government, of pure politics, of American character requires that he should be defeated. There is but one way to do it, and this way must be obvious to us all."

The one way was, to vote directly for the reform candidate (Governor Cleveland), and thus do the best to secure his success. The conference so decided, and embodied its views in an able and patriotic address.

Col. Codman spoke as follows on taking the chair:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have conferred a great honor on me in choosing me to preside over this conference, not of office-holders or office-seekers, but of citizens [cheers] desiring only the honor and welfare of the Republic. We are not here as party men, but as the representatives of that great body of citizens who desire to set aside for the time being the claims of party and to act together to achieve, if possible, results that will be for the highest good of the whole country. [Cheers.] The bond that unites us is a jealous sensitiveness for

the national character, and resentment at the attempt to lower it in the eyes of the world.

It would be, we hold, an unspeakable disgrace for us in the full knowledge of the facts and with our eyes open, to place in the Presidential chair a man with Mr. Blaine's standard of public morality.

We make no charges against private character, [applause], but hold that the public acts of Mr. Blaine, his attitude in relation to railroad legislation and all other legislation, his record when Speaker of the House of Representatives or when holding any legislative position with corporations asking for Congressional aid or in any way dependent on Congressional action, are fit and proper subjects for investigation and for comment.

Acting as we have for many years with the Republican Party, it is not without pain that we find ourselves forced to oppose its nominations. But we say that parties are but means to accomplish political ends: that they must stand for principles. We do not see that at the present time the two great parties which divide the country are clearly at issue on any great question. So that we are confined almost exclusively to the question of fitness of candidates. It is fortunate that this is so, for if the Democratic Party had nominated a man antagonistic to any of the great principles for which we have struggled, and the Republican Party had nominated Mr. Blaine, our position would have been much more painful than it is to-day. We should have been compelled to face the painful and discouraging alternative of not sustaining cherished political opinions, or of voting for a candidate we believe to be unworthy.

But happily all the great principles to maintain which the Republican Party was founded have been long since settled. It is true that Mr. Blaine in his skillful letter of acceptance [laughter] has at last expressed positive opinion on one subject. He has come out as an ardent friend of civil service reform [cheers and laughter] now that the country has declared for it; but in the days when the principle of civil service reform was struggling and weak it received no assistance from this once influential Republican leader.

But, gentlemen, we have not taken the action which brings us here to-day without remonstrances from our party associates. They have rung the changes on political allegiance; that the results of the war will be nullified; that labor will be paralyzed and capital destroyed if the Democratic Party should come into power, and they have told us that if Blaine is elected he will make the country respected in the eyes of foreign nations. To all such suggestions we have been impervious. [Cries of "Yes, Sir."] We reply that the constitutional interpretations settled by the war are not disputed; that the Democrats, who are at least half the people in the country, have no desire, and can have no interest, to check the national prosperity, and we say that the country is respected now throughout the world for its power, its energy, and its resources, and that it will so continue unless some aggressive and magnetic President succeeds in making it ridiculous. [Wild cheers and applause, the audience rising to its feet and waving hats and handkerchiefs in the air.]

There has not been much in such considerations as these to make us support an obnoxious candi-

date. But our party friends appeal to our sympathies. They ask us if we will indorse the Copiah outrage and support a party which carries its elections only by intimidation, I answer that we yield to none in our condemnation of these acts. But before all things we will be just, and not charge upon the whole South acts which belong to one or two small communities alone. Our Republican critics know, and know it as well as any men living, that these occurrences could not have been prevented by any action of the Federal Government. If they could why was there no interference at the last general election?

No, gentlemen: the truth is that time and education and the influences of Christianity must be relied upon to prevent these crimes. None can deny, and ought not to fail to recognize, that such occurrences as those at Copiah, once so common, are now exceptional. But, however that may be, we are not to be turned from our plain and obvious duty by appeals to sectional feeling or our sympathies. We do not give up our right to condemn outrages in the South any more than our right to condemn political dishonesty.

Let us declare that we stand together, and that we ask our fellow-citizens to join us, to make our protest effectual against Mr. Blaine's election. Let us try to impress upon the voters by our words and acts that political straightforwardness is better than political success, and when we have done our work here let us go to our homes and use such influence as we have to further the cause which we conceive to be the cause of our country. (Long-continued cheering.)

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF
HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,

THE NOMINEE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION FOR
THE OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER VII.

THE YOUNGER YEARS OF THOMAS A. HENDRICKS—WHERE HE WAS BORN—HIS PARENTS AND RELATIVES—HE ATTENDS VILLAGE SCHOOL AND LATER ENTERS COLLEGE—STUDIES LAW AND IS ADMITTED TO THE BAR—ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE—MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND OF CONGRESS—UNITED STATES SENATOR, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA AND TWICE CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY

ON the evening of Saturday, the 12th day of July, hardly twenty-four hours after the nominations were made by the Chicago Convention, a very largely attended Democratic meeting was held at Indianapolis, Indiana, to ratify the nominations of Cleveland and Hendricks. Messrs. Hendricks and McDonald, whose name had also been mentioned in connection with the ticket, were escorted to the meeting by a new political labor organization, named the "Autocrats." Mr. Hendricks was received with genuine enthusiasm, and defined his principles in the following speech :

" My fellow-citizens—You come to celebrate and

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to express your approval of the nominations that were made at Chicago. I am glad that you are cordial in this expression. This is a great year with us. Every fourth year the people elect the two great officers of the government. This year is our great year, and every man, whatever his party associations may be, is called upon to reconsider all questions upon which he is disposed to act, and having reconsidered, to cast his vote in favor of what he believes to be right. The Democracy of Indiana appointed me one of the delegates to the Convention at Chicago. I spent nearly a week in attendance in that city. I return to say a few things to you, and only a few things, in regard to that Convention. It was the largest Convention ever held in America. Never has such an assemblage of people been seen before. It was a Convention marked in its character for sobriety, deliberation and purposes. It selected two men to carry the banner, and leaving that Convention and going out before the people, the question is, 'Will you help carry the banner?' [Great cheering and cries of 'We will do it.']

"I do not expect that I will escape the criticism, and, it may be, the slander of the opposite party. I have not in my life suffered very much from that, but I come before you, Democrats, conservatives, independents and all men who wish to restore the government to the position it occupied before these corrupt times, and to all such men I make my appeal for your support for the high office for which I have been nominated by the Democracy at Chicago. [Great cheers]. Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York, is the nominee for President. *He was promoted to that high office by the highest*

majority ever deciding an election in that State. He is a man of established honesty of character and if you will elect him to the Presidency of the United States, you will not hear of Star routes in the postal service of the country under his administration. [Cheers.] I will tell you what we need—Democrats and Republicans will alike agree upon that—we need to have the books in the government offices opened for examination. [Cheers and cries of 'That is it.'] Do you think that men in this age never yield to temptation? [Laughter.] It is only two years ago that one of the Secretaries at Washington was called before a Senate committee to testify in regard to the condition of his department. In that department was the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. In that department an examination was being had by the Committee from the Senate, and it was ascertained by the oath of the Secretary that sits at the head of the department that the defalcation found during the last year, as far as it had been estimated, was \$63,000."

Such a speech is what can justly be expected of a gentleman whom the Democratic party—the staunch advocate of reform, economy and good government—has honored with the nomination for one of the highest and most exalted offices of the nation.

THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS

was born on a farm near Zanesville, Muskingum county, Ohio, on the 7th day of September, 1819.

HIS PARENTS.

His father was John Hendricks, a native of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, one of the first settlers of the Ligonier Valley in that county, and an active participant in public affairs, having served in the State Legislature and in other positions of trust. His mother was Jane Thomson, of Franklin, Pa. She was of Scotch descent; her grandfather, John Thomson, emigrated to America before the revolutionary war and took an honorable and conspicuous part in that struggle.

AN EXCELLENT FAMILY RECORD.

When Thomas was but six months old his father removed to Indiana and settled near Madison on the Ohio river. This was the home of William Hendricks, the brother of the father of Thomas, the second Governor of the new State, the first Representative in Congress, and afterward the predecessor of his more famous nephew in the United States Senate. John Hendricks held a minor office under the Government as Surveyor of Public Lands, and was a man of good abilities and sturdy character. In the year 1822 the father of Thomas concluded to move further into the interior of the State, and took up his residence in Shelby county, near the present site of the county-seat, Shelbyville, as handsome and productive a locality as there is in the State of Indiana. Here John Hendricks built

him a substantial brick house, which is still standing, in which his family was reared, amid the best influences that could be enjoyed in those pioneer days. Indianapolis had just been laid out and established as the future capital of the State, and Mr. Hendricks' house was one of the principal centres of educated and Christian refinement in the central part of Indiana. He was the father and founder of the Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis, of the good Scotch type, and in that faith the boy Thomas was reared and nurtured.

THOMAS ATTENDS VILLAGE SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.
HE STUDIES LAW.

The lad attended the village school until of sufficient age to enter the college at South Hanover, near Madison, graduating from which he began the study of law with Judge Major, the leading member of the Bar of Central Indiana, then and still residing in Shelbyville. The final period of his study was passed in the office of his uncle, Judge Thomson, of Chambersburg, Pa., and he was then admitted to the Bar at Shelbyville. His success was not at all rapid, but his habits of close attention to and study of his cases, his correct habits, his pleasant manners, all conspired to make him a favorite, and in the end he gained a high place in his profession and a lucrative one. He was an impressive public speaker, having early given himself much to the arts of oratory, and this fact at

once directed toward him the choice of the people for public life.

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE AND CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION.

After five years' practice, in 1848 young Hendricks was elected to the Legislature, when not 28 years of age. He was not particularly well pleased with that service, and declined a re-election in 1850. In the meantime a constitutional convention had been called, and though so young, the votes of the Senatorial district in which he lived elected him a member, he being one among the younger members of that body, with Schuyler Colfax and William S. Holman. Mr. Hendricks took a prominent part in the deliberations of that convention, as an examination of the debates show, and so added to his reputation, that at the election in August, 1851, he was

ELECTED TO CONGRESS

from the central district of the State, then stretching from Brown county on the south to Tipton on the north, and from Marion on the east to Hendricks on the west. His opponent was Col. Rush, of Hancock, whom he defeated by nearly 4,000 votes. By the terms of the new State constitution an election was held the next year, in 1852, and again he was elected from a new district, his opponent being *Mr. Bradley*, an able and brilliant Whig, between

whom and Mr. Hendricks in that campaign there was a joint discussion, the first of that sort of campaigning in Indiana.

HE VOTES FOR THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI
COMPROMISE.

During his second term in Congress the repeal of the Missouri compromise came, and Mr. Hendricks voted for it under the plea of popular sovereignty, a vote which so offended his constituency that, despite his best efforts to explain his action, he was defeated for re-election by Lucien Barbour, now dead, the first Republican Congressman from the capital district of Indiana. On the 4th of March, 1855, Mr. Hendricks returned to his law office at Shelbyville, and in August of that year, while sitting on the porch of his home in the evening, a messenger stepped up and handed him an official letter, autograph of President Pierce, making him the tender of the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office. Mr. Hendricks was disposed to decline, but upon consultation with his father accepted the duty, and in September appeared in Washington. Mr. Hendricks held this office until 1859, when he resigned and returned to the practice of his profession in Shelbyville.

He remained in office one year longer than he intended to, because of a controversy with Land Officer Burch, of Missouri. Burch's son had taken up a very large tract of the best land in Missouri,

and Burch wanted to get a patent for the young man, contrary to law and right. Hendricks cut off the grab, and stayed in office long enough to see that it should not again be attempted. While Commissioner he heard and decided 22,000 contested land claims.

DEFEATED FOR GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

But he was not allowed to remain quiet. His party was preparing for the great contest of 1860, and Mr. Hendricks was unanimously nominated by the Democratic convention as candidate for Governor, his opponent being the late Col. Henry S. Lane, who had for his lieutenant Oliver P. Morton, who had four years previously made a brilliant but unsuccessful campaign against Ashbel P. Willard. The Democratic party was split into the Douglas and Breckinridge factions, Jesse D. Bright, the leader of the latter, evidently feeling the loss of his "grip" on the party, while the Republicans were in the flush of hopeful vigor. The result was the triumphant election of Lane and Morton, which sent Mr. Hendricks back to his law books. He removed to Indianapolis and opened an office, taking at once a leading place at the Bar, forming a partnership with Oscar B. Hard, afterward the Attorney-General of the State.

ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR.

The Legislature of 1862-63 was Democratic, and Jesse D. Bright having been expelled from his seat

in the United States Senate, David S. Turpie was elected to fill out eighteen days of the unexpired term, while Mr. Hendricks was unanimously chosen for the full term of six years. He took his seat in the National Senate on the 4th of March, 1863, and served until 1869, four years as the colleague of Senator Lane and two years with Senator Morton.

With Mr. Hendricks' senatorial services and record the country is familiar. He served in the Committees on Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, the Judiciary, Public Lands and Naval Affairs. This was a period during which the Democratic party in the Senate was represented by a weak minority. Mr. Hendricks at once took the lead among the Democrats, and made for himself a national reputation. He was ever active and aggressive, and his career was characterized by frankness and boldness. He was active in opposition to the measures overturning the old State Governments, the imposition of test oaths, the Civil Rights bill, and kindred legislation. He shaped his political conduct upon the theory that the prosperity of the white people of the South was a matter of as much importance to the country as the prosperity of the colored people. He held that all men were equal in the eye of the law. His arguments on the great questions of the day have been adopted as the authoritative statement of Democratic opinion in the summaries of Congressional debate. In the memorable episode of the President's impeachment he played an important

part and added to his reputation as an able lawyer. While yet a Senator in Congress his party again nominated him for Governor, the Republicans nominating Conrad Baker. After an exciting campaign Baker was elected by about 800 majority, and Senator Hendricks again went to his law office, the firm being Hendricks, Hard & Hendricks, the latter a cousin, Abram W., a Republican without guile and a man of the finest ability. The firm was one of two or three leading ones in the city, enjoyed a very lucrative practice, and Mr. Hendricks added to a comfortable competence he had acquired by his shrewdness and providence.

ELECTED GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

In 1872 the State was again rent with a political contest. The liberal movement of that year on the part of dissatisfied Republicans gave the Democracy an apparent opportunity for success, and again the State Convention nominated Mr. Hendricks for Governor. His Republican opponent was General Thomas M. Browne. As the result of another remarkably close election Mr. Hendricks was chosen Governor by a plurality of 1200 votes, while all the other officers of the State, except the Superintendent of Public Instruction, were Republicans. In the next month Grant carried Indiana by 6000 majority. It has been said by no less a distinguished authority than Governor Hendricks himself that *any man competent to be a notary public could be*

Governor of Indiana, and so there was not much to test the executive abilities of Governor Hendricks during his term of office. He made an urbane, careful, satisfactory Governor, and retired from the position with the respect of all parties in the State.

NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1876—ELECTED
AND SHAMEFULLY DEFRAUDED.

The circumstances of the nomination of Governor Hendricks on the ticket with Governor Tilden by the St. Louis Convention are fresh in the public mind. He was a candidate for the Presidency, as he also was in 1868 at the New York Tammany Hall Convention, but there he was antagonized by a part of his own State delegation headed by Richard J. Bright. This opposition from his own delegation defeated him. In 1876 a strong and vigorous opposition to Mr. Hendricks was organized in his own State and made its appearance in St. Louis. After the election in November Mr. Hendricks made no secret of his disagreement with Mr. Tilden's course. He wrote a letter the purport of which was that he was opposed to the Electoral Commission, and that if he were Governor Tilden he should take the oath of office and demand it of President Grant, leaving the Supreme Court to adjudicate the dispute. Of course the inauguration of Hayes and Wheeler settled the future of Mr. Hendricks, and he proceeded quietly with his law business, Governor Baker having become a mem-

ber of the firm, which was Baker, Hendricks, Hard & Hendricks.

Mr. Hendricks was again a candidate for the Presidential nomination in Cincinnati in 1880, and this time had the ardent and enthusiastic support of his entire State delegation. But his nomination was impossible. He probably could have secured the nomination of Joseph E. McDonald, but Mr. Hendricks again remembered 1868, and he would not give the word of assent. The result was the nomination of Hancock, and, with the idea of placating Indiana, William H. English. This action sent Mr. Hendricks into his tent, where he remained until nearly the end of the campaign, when he emerged because of a bitter attack upon him personally made by the Republican press. But there was no harmony between the Democratic leaders, as the campaign of that year in Indiana went against the Democratic party. After the election of Garfield Mr. Hendricks was interviewed, and in answer to the question whether he was out of politics answered that he should never be out of politics until he was in his grave. The Democratic party had been too kind to him to permit him to deafen his ears to its voice whenever it demanded his services.

IN PRIVATE LIFE.

Governor Hendricks was married near Cincinnati on the 25th of September, 1845, to Miss Eliza

C. Morgan, by whom he had one son, born in 1848, but who lived to be only three years of age. This was the only child, and its death greatly affected the father. He was nurtured in the Presbyterian faith, and was a member of that communion until the organization of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Indianapolis in the year 1862. He became a member of that parish and was elected senior warden. He has never belonged to but one secret society, the Odd Fellows, being a charter member of the Wellsville Lodge, but for a long time has ceased to actively participate in its work. After the election in 1876 Mr. Hendricks made an extensive tour of Europe, meeting with cordial receptions everywhere and making the acquaintance of many of the most distinguished European politicians. Mr. and Mrs. Hendricks occupy a very prominent position in society at Indianapolis, and indeed in every place they go. They entertain admirably but not elaborately. Mrs. Hendricks is a fine-looking lady, nearly sixty years old, rather small of stature, with dark hair and eyes. She wears an eye-glass, which gives her something of a distingue appearance, and she dresses richly but plainly. She is a brilliant conversationalist and a lady of rare tact. For many years she has devoted much attention to charitable matters, and for four years was one of the board of trustees appointed by the Republican Governor of the State Institution for the Reformation of Girls. While president of the board a legislative investigation

of the institution was held and developed the fact that its affairs had been managed much more economically and effectively than when under control of men.

When Mr. Hendricks was Governor of the State she visited with him the various penal and reformatory institutions, and was not satisfied with a casual inspection of them, but inquired into their affairs closely. She is valuable to him in various other ways, for she has an extended knowledge of political affairs and excellent judgment regarding them. All of his carefully prepared speeches bear the impress of her work. They are a charming couple, thoroughly congenial, and almost equally talented.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER THE NOMINATION—SENATOR PENDLETON ABOUT THE
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES—EX-SENATOR LYMAN TRUMBULL
ON THE TICKET—AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. HENDRICKS—SPICY
CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
CHANDLER AND MR. HENDRICKS—ANDREW G. CURTIN, THE WAR
GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, ON THE OPENING STRUGGLE.

THERE is a peculiar aptness and significance in the selection of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks as the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Eight years ago, while Mr. Hendricks was a candidate for the same position, Democracy swept the country only to be cheated and robbed of the fruits of the victory. These recollections will inspire the Democrats all over the country to cling together with a greater fidelity than ever, and to make every effort to at least partly right the wrong of 1876. Mr. Hendricks is sagacious and honest and his life is without stain or taint of suspicion. On this all honest men, even his political opponents, agree.

SENATOR PENDLETON, OF OHIO,
expressed his opinion on the Democratic Convention, its nominations and its platform as follows:

He said of the Convention that it was the finest body of men he ever saw; that it conducted

its business with gravity and with great earnestness, and a thorough appreciation of the importance of the work it had to do. Of the nominations he said :

"I think they are excellent. I have not the pleasure of knowing Gov. Cleveland, but he has given New York a clean and wise and honest administration. As far as I understand New York politics it has been an administration in favor of reform, administrative reform, civil service reform, and tariff reform. His nomination is a platform of itself, because his acts have shown even more strongly than professions that he is in favor of the best reform. The position of Gov. Hendricks on these questions has always been right. His speeches in 1872, his letter in 1876, his late controversy with Secretary Chandler show him to be on the right side of these questions. He is an experienced statesman, and is not likely to make a mistake upon any question that interests the people."

With respect to the declaration of the Convention in its platform in favor of an honest reform of the civil service, Senator Pendleton said that that declaration was satisfactory to the civil service reformers, and that the nominations were alike satisfactory to them. He said that both Cleveland and Hendricks were strongly committed to the reform of the civil service, and asked : "Who could desire more absolute committal to the doctrines of reform than the acts of Gov. Cleveland and the declarations of Gov. Hendricks?" Continuing he said : "Let me read you what Gov. Hendricks said as long ago as 1872. At a meeting in Indianapolis in July of that year to ratify the nomination of Mr. Greeley, he said : 'Gov. Morton thinks we do

not know what civil service reform means. He will find that we understand it, and that the people, without respect to party difference, understand it, and that they will have the reform. The plainest mind, if honest, easily comprehends it. It means that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; it means that men are not to be appointed to office merely because they are relatives or subservient tools of party leaders; it means that men are not to be appointed whose only claim is that they have been the corrupt agent of a party, and with foul hands have defiled the people's ballot box; it means that the public offices belong to the people, and that their duties are to be discharged by faithful men and only for the public good. I believe it means all that, and this, too, that men who hold appointments to discharge administrative duties, who are faithful and efficient, and do not prostitute their positions to the service of party, ought not to be removed because of their political opinions. If men of that character are retained they become a check upon the supporters of the party in power who may attempt fraudulent practices upon the Treasury. Vouchers could not then be withdrawn and raised, and additional thousands drawn upon them. The sum of the whole matter is that the public offices ought to be filled and their duties discharged for the benefit of the country, and not for a party.' And in his letter of acceptance in 1876 he says: 'In the reform of the civil service I most heartily indorse that section of the platform which declares that the civil service ought not to be "subject to change at every election," and that it ought not to be made "the brief reward of party

zeal, but ought to be awarded for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ."

As to the result of the campaign, Senator Pendleton said that he thought that the Democratic nominees would be elected. He thought the Democrats would carry New York and Connecticut; that they have reasonable hopes of carrying New Jersey, and would get every Southern State. Indiana he thought would be carried by Hendricks, and of Ohio he said: "We will have a hard and long-continued and desperate fight in Ohio. We will omit nothing that can honorably be done, and I have very great hopes we will carry the State."

EX-SENATOR LYMAN TRUMBULL SAYS OF THE TICKET
NOMINATED,

"I think the ticket as strong a one as could have been made. If the Democracy cannot win with Cleveland and Hendricks I do not know of any ticket they could win with. The two parties are to-day very evenly balanced on the great issues, but the sentiment of the country is unquestionably against Mr. Blaine and in favor of a candidate who has the confidence of the business element of the country. The German vote in Illinois and Wisconsin may be changed this year from Republican to Democratic. I have no doubt that Connecticut and New Jersey will give their electoral votes to Cleveland. New York, the 'pivotal State,' will undoubtedly be the battleground of the campaign. You in the East can speak more hopefully of what you expect New York to do. I have no doubt we shall have a campaign of surprises. The defection of the Irish,

for any cause, may be counterbalanced by the German vote, which is so naturally opposed to prohibitory legislation. Above all, Mr. Cleveland represents principles and a policy that do not require an apology. The grand character of Mr. Hendricks adds strength to the ticket, and seems to make Indiana certainly Democratic. As I said before, if the Democrats cannot win with this ticket there are no two names that could be combined with which a victory could be achieved."

MR. HENDRICKS AFTER THE NOMINATION.

A correspondent of the *Indianapolis Journal* called on Governor Hendricks, a few days after the nomination. Mr. Hendricks was busily engaged in reading congratulatory letters and telegrams which he was receiving. "I have as yet not indicated my intention of either accepting or declining the nomination," said he, "and I am not yet prepared to say which I shall do. I have not as yet received an official notification of my nomination."

When the conversation turned upon general political matters Mr. Hendricks said: "I don't know that it is such an enviable position to be the first Democratic President of the United States for twenty-five years. There are one hundred and twenty thousand Federal office-holders in the United States, and from Portland to Los Angeles there is not a Democrat holding a prominent position. It will be absolutely necessary for the Democratic President to change, at the least calculation,

fifty thousand of these. His party will demand it, and rightfully, too, and the strain and pressure upon him will be almost beyond endurance. I have no doubt that civil service reform is a very good thing in some respects, but the offices will have to be filled by the President and not the schoolmaster. I don't think I care to be compelled to go through this ordeal.

"I don't regard the Presidency of the United States as a very desirable position; and, so far as that is concerned, I am not particularly impressed with the desirability of the Vice-Presidency."

A correspondent visited Mr. Hendricks at his home and writes as follows: "In the light of the action of the Chicago Convention it is interesting to repeat Mr. Hendricks' utterances in 1877, even if he did not expect this tardy indorsement. At his reception by the Manhattan Club, New York, he said: 'A great and sincere people will pass their final verdict upon the outrageous act [Hayes had then been declared elected President by the Electoral Commission]. Democratic principles will be carried out by Democrats and by such fair-minded Republicans as will not make themselves a party to the wrong done last winter. This will be accomplished by the majority of voters in the several States, . . . and Indiana will again do her duty.'"

It remains for the Democracy now to make good the words which, for the lack of a renomination of

the "old ticket," failed in 1880. However, an opinion is gaining ground that the issue of Presidential fraud will gradually be lost sight of in the absorbing question of reform. In the opinion of Mr. Hendricks it is the question, and it grows out of the stupendous abuses of Republican administration. There must be reform in all matters of government, and to his view the Democratic party is in existence and must be placed in power for that express purpose.

In the rush of visitors and letter and telegraph communications I was diffident of approaching him, but he was courteous and free in the expression of his sentiments. He remarked that his views must be pretty well known through his speech [which we print as an introduction to the history of the life of Mr. Hendricks] and open letter to Mr. Chandler, but added that too much could not be said on the question of reform, revenue and administrative reform. I ventured to ask if the tariff would not be an important issue of the campaign. He answered no; that it was a matter of business, regulated by business needs.

"But," resumed Mr. Hendricks, "the question of revenue reform suggests itself to every mind when the fact is considered that the change in the internal revenue and tax laws made by the Republican Congress before this, a little more than one year ago, left the revenues of the government in excess of the demands of an economical adminis-

tration at least fifty millions a year. No party in the world can stand up before an intelligent people and defend the collection from the people of more money than the government has a right to use when economically administered. Of course this important point will attract attention. Administrative reform is not less a question of vital interest. Every now and then something wrong is looming up in some department; carelessness and inefficiency characterize many of the departments of public service. It is an honor to any young man to get an appointment from the government, of course, but position is not given him in a department for him to make it a lounging-place. He must work with care and diligence and earnestness in order that all the interests of the government shall be amply and fully protected, just as the active and honest young man in the store or on the farm or in the railroad office gives the best capabilities of his mind and industry to the promotion of the interests which he is paid to take care of."

"Then revenue and administrative reform are the watchwords chosen for the Democratic campaign?"

"Undoubtedly. My letter to Mr. Chandler is on this issue, and will have its weight in the campaign. It is already before the people, and they will not wait for the formal opening of the campaign to pass judgment upon it."

"May I ask what weight Mr. Cleveland will give to the canvass?"

"I think, from what I am able to learn, that Mr. Cleveland will grow rapidly in public favor because he is a stern, honest, positive man, as he has shown in every office he has held. The people, who are clear-sighted and unerring in their judgments of men and measures, come to understand a man just as he is, and Mr. Cleveland is the kind of a man they want at this time." Here Mr. Hendricks arose from the easy chair in which he had been lounging, and, standing erect, with a clear, ringing voice and with a forcible gesture of his right hand, continued: "These are not matters of chance or accident. A man, as a general rule, is selected for the qualities he does possess, and that is the case with Mr. Cleveland."

It was a picture of health and strength Mr. Hendricks here presented that would scarcely be recognized by those who saw him under the strain of the Chicago Convention. He stood in the wide hall of his residence, with the open door leading to a spacious yard, shaded by fine trees planted years ago by the late Hon. Oliver H. Smith. Since Mr. Hendricks' marriage he has lived in many houses, but never in one built after a plan of his making or selection. Now he resides in a substantial two-story brick dwelling, built by the late General Low and the double of one erected by the General's father-in-law, the late Hon. O. H. Smith. It is not

a house of many rooms, but they are large and handsome and have an air of comfort foreign to most more pretentious dwellings. The hall is especially spacious, and with the open door and inviting chairs and sofa makes a pleasant reception room in summer. Mr. Hendricks' private or political library is up-stairs, and there he has a table and telephone and receives the politicians who crave a special hearing. If he shall accept the nomination he will probably have headquarters in a more accessible quarter, although his house is not out of the way.

The best likeness of Mr. Hendricks is one which was photographed by Van Loo. It does justice to the pose of the finely-formed head, the brow is clear, the eyes are penetrating and the expression is pleasing and intellectual. The picture even conveys an idea of the delicacy of complexion and soft, brown tint of hair which marks his Scotch descent. His head and face have changed a good deal in the last eight years. They seem larger. The forehead is broad and smooth and the cheeks slope gently to the chin, which is innocent of beard. The mouth is not large and the lips are thin. It is altogether a classic mouth and chin, and the nose is well formed and delicate in expression. The eyes are blue, mixed with gray, and express more penetration than reserve. They are schooled to express interest in whatever subject is presented and tell no tales. The head is poised on a manly

figure, with unusual depth of chest, and its perfect proportions are revealed in the firm, elastic step. The face in repose is free from wrinkles. In conversation it lights up amazingly, and joined to a pleasing deference of manner has given him the reputation of a Talleyrand. That he does not deserve, for on occasions he is extremely outspoken.

Somehow the press of fresh personal interest in Mr. Hendricks interrupted the review of the last eight years, and I must take up the thread. After Mr. Hayes' inauguration he went to California, where he was warmly received and his health completely restored from the wear and tear of electoral suspense. Upon his return he went to Europe, and in the fall came home and went into the practice of the law with his former partners, O. B. Hood and A. W. Hendricks, with the additional partner, Hon. Conrad Baker, who had preceded him in the Gubernatorial office. The four years of his executive term was the only period when Mr. Hendricks did not practice law, and yet he resumed the profession with such diffidence, lest he had lost ground therein, that the gaining of his first case was very much of a surprise to him. It was a famous canal case, which had run the gauntlet of the courts for a dozen years and had its root and finding in matters dating back twenty-seven years. Perhaps the most important case which has engaged his attention was that of the

Pennsylvania Railway, in which he held his own with such distinguished talent as that of Judge Hoadly, Stanley Matthews and Mr. McDonald. His argument at Newport covered one hundred pages of printed matter and is a marvel of legal acumen and intellectual scope. Another great case was that of the Toledo and Western.

The work Mr. Hendricks accomplished was not confined to the law. In addition, he attended to considerable private business. He figured actively in the campaigns of 1878, 1880 and 1882. He also made some valuable contributions to current literature and traveled extensively, making another tour of Europe. So versatile and arduous were his labors, in fact, that three times in the last eight years his health broke down. He would not be admonished of danger, and his last severe attack of illness was caused by excessive fatigue and exposure in the campaign of 1882. It was the attack of phlegmonous erysipelas, which came so near costing him his life. His perfect recovery, thanks to a splendid constitution and well-regulated life, was a disappointment to the physicians who said he would die, and the forced rest and subsequent sojourn abroad give him promise of many years of usefulness to come.

As the Chandler letter, published on another page of this work, may be taken for the key-note of the campaign, long ahead of the opening of the canvass, so in Mr. Hendricks' speech at the ratifi

cation meeting he said one thing which has already become a watchword. It was this :

"I will tell you what we need—Democrats and Republicans will alike agree upon that—we need to have the books in the government offices opened for examination." [Cheers and cries of "That is it."] . . . "What is the remedy ? To have a President who will appoint a head of a bureau that will investigate the condition of the books and bring the guilty to trial." [Repeated cheers.]

And the cheers were followed by a ringing, stalwart shout, "The books must be opened." The cry has found its echo in the hearts of the people and will be inscribed on many a banner throughout the country in the coming campaign.

"The books must be opened" is a natural sequence to "Cleveland, Hendricks and Reform" and "Revenue and Administrative Reform." It may be some lengthier axioms from Mr. Hendricks' utterances may be in order, such as, "Government shall exist for man and not man for government ;" "We will not enslave man, even that he shall admit and practice the truth ;" "Where there is no freedom of action there can be no freedom of judgment ;" "Heaven's law leaves man able to obey, but free to disobey ;" "Habits of tyranny become usages ;" "We cannot exclude all from a privilege or right because it is abused by a few ;" "When once in the box the ballot has no color."

Mr. Hendricks' views in regard to the service

young men should render as employés of the government, as I have had the honor of embodying them in this letter, are a practical compendium of civil service reform, and they are backed by life-long devotion to the welfare of young men, which has been paid in kind. In 1872, when he was the first Democratic Governor elected in the North after the war, he suddenly took heart at the close of a dispiriting canvass when one hundred young men—first voters—marched in a Democratic procession along Washington street. Due attention to the training of young men in Democratic faith and good works is one of the strong points in Mr. Hendricks' party management.

CHANDLER'S ANGRY REPLY.

The speech which we published as an introduction to the history of the career of Governor Hendricks aroused the ire of the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Chandler, who wrote the following angry retort to Mr. Hendricks with regard to the frauds in the Navy Department referred to in his speech.

"SIR: A candidate for Vice-President should speak with fairness. In your speech at Indianapolis, last Saturday night, you made statements from which you meant that the public should believe that it appeared by my testimony that the frauds in the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of this department amounted, during the past year, to \$53,000; that I was informed of some of these

outrages a year ago; that after I was informed of the frauds I disbelieved them, because members of Congress had recommended the continuance of the Chief of the Bureau and that I took no adequate action concerning them; whereupon you demanded the election of a President who would appoint a chief of the bureau who would investigate the condition of the books and bring all the guilty parties to trial. To the contrary of all this, I testified that the suspected vouchers commenced as far back as June 21, 1880, although a small voucher was paid as late as Jan. 25, 1884; that while an anonymous letter of about a year ago charged drunkenness upon the chief clerk, Daniel Carrigan, which the chief of the bureau, Dr. Philip S. Wales, reported to me was not true, I had no information leading to the frauds until December or January last; that I determined simultaneously with beginning investigation to have a new chief of the bureau in the place of Dr. Wales, whose term was to expire Jan. 26, and also a new chief clerk; that great opposition to the change was made by members of Congress, but I persisted and Dr. Wales went out on that date. Carrigan was put out Feb. 4, and the investigation of frauds and arrest of guilty parties have since proceeded with due diligence.

"It is true that I stated that the recommendations for reappointment of Dr. Wales, whom I found in office when I went in, April 7, 1882, were of such a character as to fully justify me in believing that the affairs of his bureau had been well administered. Senator McPherson wrote to the President as follows under the date of Dec. 18, 1883:

"SIR: As the term of office of Surgeon-General Wales, of the Navy Department, is soon to expire, and considering it not a political office, I presume, as I am a perfect prodigal with the article of advice, to ask, for the good of everybody and everything relating to that service, that you reappoint him. I do this because he is an excellent officer, having ability and energy, qualities not general in the naval service, and which I think should be nourished when discovered. I feel sure if any officer has deserved such recognition from the appointing power by reason of faithful and efficient service in the past, that officer is Surgeon-General Wales.'

"A petition for reappointment written by Carrigan was sent to the President, headed by J. G. Carlisle, followed by Phil. B. Thompson, jr., Leopold Morse, R. H. M. Davidson, D. Wyatt Aiken, William McAdoo, George D. Wise, John C. Nicholls, P. A. Collins, H. B. Lovering, Robert B. Vance, D. W. Connolly, Charles B. Love, George A. Post, Albert L. Willis, Carleton Hunt, G. W. Hewitt, William H. Fiedler and other Representatives in Congress, saying of Dr. Wales: 'He has administered the affairs of the bureau during the last four years with signal ability and success.' United States Senators McPherson, Butler, Brown, Colquitt, Beck, Williams, C. W. Jones, Ransom and thirty-two other Senators, also using Carrigan as their writer, petitioned for Dr. Wales' reappointment, stating that 'his administrative capacity has been fully demonstrated by the successful management of the bureau of which he now has charge.'

"Senator McPherson, Speaker Carlisle and *others of the most prominent of these gentlemen*

who demanded Dr. Wales' reappointment, were with you in the Convention at Chicago, and could have informed you that he had borne a good reputation; that the law required that the Chief of the Bureau should be a naval surgeon, and placed the medical expenditures in his hands; that his was in no sense a political office, but that if he had any politics he was a Democrat; and that any attempt to make political capital out of frauds for which this naval surgeon, who is their intimate friend, is solely responsible, would be disingenuous and unfair. That they did not succeed in keeping Dr. Wales and his chief clerk, Carrigan, in office is very fortunate."

REPLY OF THE DEMOCRATIC VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE TO MR. CHANDLER.

To the letter of Mr. Chandler, ex-Governor Hendricks has written the following response:

"INDIANAPOLIS, July 14, 1884.

"Hon. W. E. Chandler—Sir: I find in the newspapers this morning a letter to me from yourself, written yesterday and circulated through the Associated Press. You complain that I did you injustice in an address to the people of this city, made the evening before. In that address I urged that 'We need to have the books in the Government offices opened for examination,' and as an illustration I cited the case of a fraudulent voucher in one of the bureaus of your department, and stated that upon your testimony before a subcommittee of the Senate it appeared that the frauds amounted to \$63,000; and is not every word of

that true? You were brought before the committee and testified as I stated.

"You admitted under oath that the sum of money lost amounted to \$63,000, but your defense was that the embezzlement did not wholly occur under your administration, but that a part of it was under that of your predecessor. It seems to have covered the period from June, 1880, down to January 25, 1884. Does that help your case? You were at the head of the department a year and nine months of that period, and your predecessor about one year and ten months. He was in office at the payment of the first false voucher, on January 21, 1880, and up to April 17, 1882, when you came in, and you continued thence until the last false voucher was paid, January 25, 1884. The period was almost equally divided between yourself and your predecessor. How much of the \$63,000 was paid out under yourself and how much under your predecessor your letter does not show, but, sir, upon the question that I was discussing, does it make any difference who was secretary when the false vouchers were paid?

"I urged that in cases like this, when frauds are concocted in the vouchers or in the books of the department, the only remedy of the people is a change of the control, so that the books and vouchers shall come under the examination of new and disinterested men. Do you think I am answered when you say I was mistaken in supposing that in this case the frauds were all under your administration, when in fact a part of them extended back into your predecessor's? Why, sir, that makes your case worse. For the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery the defalcation is large, but the more serious

fact is that it could and did extend through different administrations of the department, a period of nearly four years, without detection.

"But it becomes more serious, so far as you are individually concerned, from the fact that you had notice and yet took no sufficient action. The information upon which I spoke was from Washington, the 26th of last month, by the Associated Press, the same that brings me your letter. The Associated Press obtained its information either in your department or from the investigating committee. If you were not correctly reported that was the time for complaint and correction. You testified that the total of the suspicious vouchers discovered so far was about \$63,000, and the money fraudulently obtained was in some instances divided between a watchman in the department, a chief clerk, and a clerk in charge of the accounts.

"Now, what notice had you? According to the Associated Press report of your testimony you received a letter last year charging one of the parties with drunkenness, and after that a man came to you and told you that these three persons were engaged in frauds. Did not that put you upon notice and investigation? You testified that some inquiry was made and the conclusion was that while there were suspicious circumstances they did not warrant a conclusion of guilt. After a notice verbal and in writing you left the men in office. You did not bring the frauds to light nor the guilty parties to punishment. It was Government Detective Wood who discovered the frauds, and the Associated Press reports said that Wood declared he would have no further dealing with your department, but would press an investigation before Congress.

"What is your next excuse? Worse, if possible, than all before. You say a large number of congressmen, including some gentlemen of great influence and position, recommended that the head of the bureau, Dr. Wales, should be reappointed. Members of Congress knew nothing of the frauds. They had no opportunity to know. It was within your reach and duty. They were probably his personal friends. You were his official superior. But, in fact, did you reappoint him? I understand not. Perhaps the detective discovered the frauds too soon. But Dr. Wales was not one of the three guilty parties. He neither forged the vouchers nor embezzled the money. His responsibility in the case is just the same as your own. He was the official superior of the three rogues, as you were of himself, as of them. Neither he nor yourself exposed the frauds or punished the parties.

"I have not thought of or considered this as a case of politics. Addressing my neighbors, I said this and like cases admonish them to demand civil service reform in the removal of all from office who will not seek to promote it within the sphere of their official duty and authority. Respectfully,

"T. A. HENDRICKS."

WHAT GOVERNOR CURTIN THINKS OF THE COMING STRUGGLE.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, the war Governor of Pennsylvania, speaking of the ticket a few days after the convention said:

"There is a whole month to elapse before there will be any political activity in the country. Just now there is a calm. The Democratic ticket, I think

I can say at this time, is an excellent one, and well calculated to win."

"Do you believe Governor Cleveland's record in vetoing certain measures that came up in the New York Legislature will injure his candidacy?"

"I do not think they carry the weight that is generally credited to them."

"Did you see the manifesto of the New York workingmen circulated among the delegates at Chicago before the nomination was made?"

"I did not. I was too busy to read the papers carefully. But in answer to that I will ask you what does the New York *Post* and the New York *Times* say? What does Henry Ward Beecher say? What do the most influential religious newspapers say? Beecher is one of your strong Republicans, and many of the leading religious publications are in sympathy with Republican politics. The Independent Republican element in New York and Massachusetts indorses Cleveland."

"And Hendricks?"

"Hendricks, in my judgment, is the strongest man that could have been placed on the ticket with Cleveland, notwithstanding the assertions that McDonald would have been stronger. There is no doubt that he will carry Indiana. He commands the respect of all the leading men in the country. He is a broad, pure-minded statesman, and his election in Indiana in 1872, when the rest of the Democratic ticket went to pieces, is only an illus-

tration of his strength at home. The ticket, with Hendricks on it, is safe."

"Was the Democratic Convention a representative body?"

"Entirely so. I never saw a better or more representative body of the Democracy assembled in National Conventions. Its deliberations were dignified, and the men who helped to mould the opinions of the party and lay the foundations of the Democratic campaign this fall were among the leading and most brilliant men in the National Democracy. There were more prominent statesmen gathered in Chicago than I ever saw before. In fact, I believe there were more visitors in the city than there were here during the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Everything in the convention was orderly and sedate, and there was even an air of solemnity about it. It was the finest body I ever saw in session."

"Is the Tammany defection in New York looked forward to with any feelings of apprehension?"

"I don't believe the Tammany defection will work serious damage. The claim that John Kelly can wield 70,000 votes is absurd. Why, the Democratic vote of New York city is only 150,000, and the idea that Mr. Kelly's friends can sway absolute control of one-half of it is preposterous. The defection is small. I believe the Democratic party will carry the State of New York. The defection from the Republican ticket is greater, when you

look at it right, than the break in the Democratic ranks. With the Southern States, Cleveland will only need 45 electoral votes to secure his election. With Indiana almost certain, the chances in Connecticut, New Jersey, and a divided vote in Massachusetts, are hopeful outside of New York. In fact, the Democratic party enters upon this campaign with better prospects than in any previous year since the war."

"But will not the tariff plank throw weight into the Republican canvass?"

"It ought not to. I have read the tariff planks in both Republican and Democratic platforms, and I have yet to detect any material difference. One is a little more conservative than the other, but there are no germs of a hurtful doctrine in the utterances of the Democratic party that I can see. The one idea that the revenues should be limited to the necessities of the Government, economically administered, prevails in both of them, and that is the one cardinal principle that every sensible citizen has in view. I don't see how the tariff can be made a distinct line of division between the parties in the fight this year. In giving you my views that Cleveland will be elected, you understand that I derive my information from men who are anxious to see Cleveland win. I believe, however, that the prospects are reassuring, and that the Democratic ticket is one that will grow to a bigger size when the decisive issue comes."

CHAPTER IX.

EX-GOVERNOR HENDRICKS NOTIFIED.

On the following day Governor Hendricks was officially notified of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency. This was done in the parlor of the Grand Union Hotel, at Saratoga Springs. Most all of the members of the notification committee came over from Albany, and about eleven o'clock in the morning met in the parlor of the Grand Union and proceeded to business. A sub-committee, consisting of Colonel Vilas, General Hooker, of Mississippi; Governor Waller, of Connecticut, and ex-Senator Stockton, of New Jersey, was appointed to visit Governor Hendricks and inquire his wishes as to the hour and place at which the business of the day should be transacted. The Vice-Presidential candidate named two o'clock and the parlor of the hotel as the place of meeting.

Shortly after one o'clock the ladies' large parlor of the hotel was prepared for the occasion. Policemen were stationed about to keep out the crowd and only favored guests were admitted. Just before two o'clock the committee of notification filed in and formed a semi-circle in the end of the room.

There were very few gentlemen besides the committee present. The room was, however, crowded with richly dressed ladies and the scene was a very pleasing one. Mrs. Hendricks, a small woman, with spectacles, was of course the centre of attraction for the ladies. She has strong, regular features, denoting great strength of character, and was attired in a very becoming dress of black silk. Mrs. A. T. Stewart sat by her side. Mr. Hendricks came into the room leaning on the arm of Colonel Bannister, of Indiana, and ex-Congressman Stephenson, of Illinois. He was received with applause as he took his position within the semicircle. When all was in readiness Colonel Vilas, chairman of the committee, arose and said:

"Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana: The great national council of the constitutional Democracy of the Union, held at Chicago within this month of July, constituted this committee now before you, by selection from each of the several States and Territories of our country, and commissioned it as the official voice of the party to declare to you, in fitting terms and with appropriate ceremony—not only in testimony of its respect for your ability and character, but in pledge of its consideration for the interests of the nation—that you have been nominated by that party to the people to be their Vice-President of the United States for the ensuing term of that exalted trust. That honorable duty we have journeyed hither from every part of this wide land with pride and pleasure in this manner to discharge. The in-

teresting circumstances of that nomination cannot be unknown to you, and could not but be gratifying to the sensibilities of any right-minded man. It was well understood in that convention that such a distinction was won there unsought and undesired by you. Yet, sir, after many others were presented your name was suggested, followed by repeated seconding. Every other name was withdrawn, and amid universal acclaim the roll call responded to your unanimous choice. Then, in exquisite enthusiasm, the Convention, with the vast surrounding assemblage, joined with cheer and hymn in a prolonged outbreak of gratified satisfaction. Sir, though Indiana's favored citizens may enjoy with just pride a peculiar honor in the distinguished services you have rendered your party, your State and the nation, and may feel a peculiar attachment for the endearing qualities of your heart and mind, be assured that the Democracy of the nation participates in that sense of honor and affectionate regard in hardly a less degree. They witnessed your long and honorable career, sometimes in the faithful performance of high public trusts, sometimes nobly contending as a soldier in the ranks for the principles of constitutional liberty, but always with firm devotion and unswerving fidelity to the interests and rights of the people; and now they confidently expect of your patriotism to yield all professional wishes and undertake the labors of their candidate, as on their part the people can securely repose upon the ripe experience of your years and wisdom to most satisfactorily meet all the responsibilities of the high office to which you will be called. The Convention felt, *as the nation will approve*, that it was serving the

spirit of the Constitution when it designated for a Vice-President a citizen worthy and competent to execute the highest functions of the Chief Magistracy. It is an especial desire of the Democracy, sir, to see you invested with this particular dignity, because they know, as now all the world knows, that once you were rightfully given title to it by the people and wrongfully denied its possession by the success of machinations, of fraud and conspiracy, and the vindication of exact justice will be most complete when you shall be re-elected now, that you may be triumphantly inaugurated to your rightful chair of office. This sentiment has given direction to the personal consideration and admiration of the Democracy so abundantly manifested in the recent Convention and will stir a responsive throb in the hearts of all good men. In finishing the grateful office which the partial favor of these gentlemen, my distinguished associates, has assigned me, permit us, one and all, to express the highest esteem and regard. In a more enduring execution of its duty the committee has prepared and personally signed a written communication, which the secretary will now read.

At this point Mr. Bell, the secretary, read the following address:

“NEW YORK, July 23, 1884.

“Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana—Sir: The honor and pleasure of officially notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the National Democracy in the election about to occur for the office of Vice-President of the United States was, by the convention recently held at Chicago, conferred upon the undersigned as a committee of

that body designed to represent in our persons the several States and Territories. In grateful performance of the duty we are entitled to express the admiration of the convention and of the party for your long and well-known personal qualities and character, and for your distinguished public service and maintenance of the principles and objects which are believed best calculated to promote the security, happiness and welfare of the people. And especial satisfaction in the minds of all good men must follow your election from the reflection that in your person the testimony will be peculiarly given that the American people are never conscious or willing instruments of that great public crime by which, through fraudulent returns and a flagrant disregard of truth and justice, others were seated in those high offices to which Samuel J. Tilden and yourself were rightfully chosen in 1876, as well as of the patriotism of your great submission in confident reliance upon the justice of the people for vindication. An engrossed copy of the declaration of principles and policy made by the convention is submitted with this communication for your examination, and we may surely expect your loyal devotion in the cause of our party to accept the candidacy imposed by your nomination. We have the honor to be, with great respect,

“WILLIAM F. VILAS, President.

“NICHOLAS M. BELL, Secretary.”

Mr. Hendricks responded as follows: “Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee—I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a committee representing a more august *body of men* than that which you represent. In

the language of another. 'the convention was large in numbers, august in culture, and patriotic in sentiments,' and, may I not add to that, that because of the power and the greatness and the virtues of the party which it represented it was itself in every respect a very great convention. [Applause.] The delegates came from all the States and Territories [applause] clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion on all those questions which are not settled by constitutional law; for the purpose of passing upon those questions and selecting a ticket for the people that convention assembled. They decided upon the principles that they would adopt as a platform. They selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that convention work was theirs.

"I have not reached the period when it was proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from that convention addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party. [Applause.] I appreciate the honor that is done me. But at the same time that I accept the honor from you and from the convention I feel that the duties and responsibility of the office rest upon me also. I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office—that of Vice-President—does not involve much responsibility, and, as a general thing, that is so; but sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future, for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that those two great parties shall so exactly differ that the Vice-

President of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. [Applause.] The responsibility would then become very great. It would not then be the responsibility of representing a State or a district. It would be the responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country, and that vote, when thus cast, should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people.

"Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact that I am honored by this nomination in a very special degree. I accept the suggestion that in this candidacy I will represent the right of the people to choose their own rulers, that right that is above all, that lies beneath all; for if the people are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people? What shall become of free government if the people select not their officers? How shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution? So that, in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people, as you have suggested, a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of the convention. As soon as it may be convenient and possible to do so I will address you more formally in respect to the letter you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen." [Applause.]

At the close of Mr. Hendricks' remarks hearty applause was given and he was introduced to each member of the committee, and a general hand-shaking followed, after which the assembled audience paid their respects to Mrs. Hendricks.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CON- VENTION OF 1884.

THE HALL—THE TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION—THE UNIT
RULE SUSTAINED—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

SEVERAL days previous to the meeting of the great National Democratic Convention a large number of delegates and many prominent members of the Democratic party arrived at Chicago to prepare the work to be laid before the Convention.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

On Monday the Democratic National Committee began its session, Chairman Barnum presiding. The committee decided to recommend to the Convention that the rules of the last Democratic Convention govern this body until otherwise ordered, subject to the following modifications: "That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President, no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of the States has been called and every State has cast its vote." After a long discussion the committee decided that undetached coupons would not be accepted for admission to the Convention hall.

THE CONVENTION.

On Tuesday, July the 8th, the day fixed for the meeting of the great National Democratic Convention, crowds began to gather in the vicinity of the Exposition Hall at an early hour. Door-tenders and ushers reported for duty at 9 o'clock, and many people were even then awaiting to enter and secure their seats.

A lowering sky, broken clouds, small patches of blue peeping through rolling masses of black smoke, and occasional stray slants of sunlight—this was the sort of weather that came to the Democratic National Convention this morning. There were many early breakfasts, and by 9 o'clock the Palmer House interior presented a wondrous sight. Up and down stairs streamed a closely packed throng, going and coming constantly. State headquarters were packed with delegates and visitors. Policemen stood at all points where crowds could gather to obstruct the way and tried to move lagging individuals along. The convention men have been a singularly well-behaved body, very much less noisy than the Republicans who met here a month ago.

Band music in and out of doors and marching delegations in every street started the crowd toward the Convention hall as early as 10 o'clock. By 11 o'clock the neighborhood of the convention building was thronged with people. Policemen in ade-

quate numbers kept back the crowd, so that the delegates had no difficulty in reaching the entrances. Persons who attended the convention a month ago, and who suffered inconvenience because there was an inadequate number of entrances, discovered that the Democrats had learned a lesson and had decidedly lessened the difficulties of ingress and egress. Every person entitled to admission had a card and a badge, and the color of the badge indicated the part of the hall he was entitled to enter. There was a vast crowd, but little crushing or delay.

Outside the hall, from 11 o'clock until after 12, was heard the music of many bands escorting delegations and clubs to the convention. The club badges and white hats did not admit to the convention, much to the disappointment of many men, who marched to the doors in the buoyant expectation of finding these formalities a sufficient passport.

The places for delegates, as well as those for spectators, filled up slowly, and it was after 12 before the great hall was full. The arrival of a few prominent delegates excited some applause. Senator Vance, tall, corpulent, and conspicuous by his gray hair and white moustache, was hailed with clapping of hands as he marched in at the head of the North Carolina delegation. When the venerable ex-senator Thurman appeared, heading the Ohio delegation, cheers went up all over the hall and continued until he had reached his seat, and dropped

into his chair as if he was very much fatigued. John Kelly was allowed to enter without notice, although his substantial figure, arrayed in a decidedly stylish suit of light clothes, was easily seen from all parts of the hall. He was accompanied by the loud-voiced Grady, and the two sat side by side half way down the hall, on the extreme left of the platform. Carter Harrison, coming in with the Illinois delegates, was heartily cheered by the appreciative crowds in the gallery and in the end seats, as he made his way to the place in the centre allotted to his State. Just in front of him, occupying two rows of seats, were the delegates from Indiana, and when Senator Voorhees and Mr. Hendricks came in and walked together to the Indiana delegation, they were cheered generously and cordially.

An attempt had been made when the seats were arranged to observe an alphabetical order, but this plan had afterward been abandoned.

The California delegation, as it entered with a banner at its head, was greeted with an outburst of applause. The presence of distinguished leaders among the delegates did not appear to be observed by the crowd and there was no applause to mark their arrival until the familiar figure of Senator Thurman, of Ohio, was discovered, when a cheer arose that swelled into a roar. Among the United States Senators who were present, either as *delegates*, *alternates*, or as simple spectators, were

Hampton, Vance, Beck, Williams, McPherson, Gorman, Farley, Voorhees, Pendleton, Jones of Florida, Ransom, Lamar, Jonas, Call and Harris. When the band struck up "Dixie" there was another great shout, taken up at first by the Southern delegates and then joined in by the other delegates and spectators.

THE CONVENTION CALLED TO ORDER.

Time wore on, and it was twenty minutes of one o'clock when the gavel of Chairman Barnum of the National Democratic Committee called the great assemblage to order. He introduced the Rev. Dr. Marquis, of Chicago, who prayed for a blessing on that great assembly of representative citizens, that they should be endowed with wisdom, that nothing should be done through strife or vain jealousy, but that they should be filled with that charity which is not puffed up and doth not behave itself unseemly. He prayed that their deliberations might be guided to such conclusions as would best promote the glory of God and the welfare of the nation. He wears a moustache, and, in a student voice, prayed so fluently as to merit the applause which followed his effort.

The selection of Gov. Hubbard, of Texas, for temporary Chairman was wise, for he is manly from the hair on his head to his heel. He was escorted to the chair with cheers, and at once began to address the Convention. He is a born talker

and a full-grown rhetorician. His voice penetrated every auricular development in the building, and there wasn't an eye in the house that was not on him. It is not too much to say that Hubbard is an absolute illustration of what a well-regulated locomotive in broadcloth could accomplish with a full head of steam. When he referred to Mahone as stalking in the Senate the house rose and cheered him to the echo. When he spoke of our brave leaders, Tilden and Hendricks, the entire Convention, New York alone excepted, sprang to the floor and yelled.

Gov. Hubbard, temporary Chairman, is the typical old-fashioned Southerner of fully two hundred pounds, a great big man with a great big bulge just where his vest terminates, so that his massive gold watch chain swings like a pendulum in and out. A black Prince Albert completes the drapery, which is topped with a massive head embowered behind a heavy flowing beard and reddish blond hair. A very good face has the Governor, the visual angle being rather acute, the eyes blue, the cheeks pendulous and his whole get-up suggestive of good living.

In calling the Convention to order Chairman Barnum said :

Gentlemen of the Convention : Harmony seems to be the sentiment of this Convention. Even the air seems saturated with a desire and determination to nominate a ticket for President and Vice-

President which will be satisfactory to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West—nay, more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy throughout the Union and insure victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the National Committee. No effort was made to nominate a temporary Chairman in the interest of any candidate, but on the contrary it was the desire to nominate one who shall preside over the deliberations of this Convention with absolute impartiality. In that spirit and to that end I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the National Committee to name the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, for temporary Chairman of this Convention.

The nomination of ex-Gov. Hubbard was received with unanimous assent, and he was escorted to the chair by Senator B. F. Jonas, of Louisiana; Geo. T. Barnes, of Georgia, and Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, who were appointed a committee for that purpose.

Gov. Hubbard pleased the Convention immediately. His figure is commanding, his voice clear, strong, and agreeable, and his enunciation distinct. He wore the blue Convention badge on one lapel and the white and gold badge of the Texas delegation on the other. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Democratic Convention of the Union: [Cheers.] I am profoundly grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me, in ratifying the nomination of the National Executive Committee, who have done your bidding for the last four years, by your ex-

thority. I accept it, my fellow-Democrats, not as a tribute to the humble citizen and your fellow-Democrat who speaks to you to-day, but rather as a compliment to the great State from which I come—[applause]—a State which, more than any other American State, is absolutely cosmopolitan in every fibre of its being. [Applause.] In its early days and struggles thither came to our relief, as the winds sweep across the sea, men of Illinois and New York, men of Maine and New England, men of Georgia and along the coast, and gave their lives at the Alamo and San Jacinto for the freedom of Texas. [Applause.] I can only recall to you in the brief moments that I shall detain you the fact that from our neighboring sister State, her women—her glorious Spartan women—sent to us the twin cannon that belched into glorious victory at San Jacinto. But, above all, we accept it as a tribute to the fact, my fellow-Democrats, that Texas, with her over two millions of people, gladly, at each recurring election, places in the ballot box over 100,000 Democratic majority. [Applause.]

Fellow-Democrats, we have met upon an occasion of great and absorbing interest, to our party as well as to our common country. The occasion would not justify me nor demand that I should attempt to speak to you of its great history and its distinctive principles through two-thirds of the most glorious history of our country. I could not stop to discuss, if I would, its magnificent policy of progress, the part which it has taken in building up our country, its progress, its territory, and its wealth. I can only say to you to-day, in brief, that the Democratic party in all the essential elements is the same as it was when it was founded

by the framers of the Constitution, nearly three-quarters of a century ago. [Applause.] Men die as the leaves of Autumn, but principles are underlying liberty and self-government, the right of representation and taxation going hand in hand; economy in the administration of the Government so that the Government shall make the burdens as small as they may be upon the millions who constitute our countrymen. These and other principles underlie the Democratic party, and cannot be effaced from the earth though their authors may be numbered with the dead. [Cheers.] I thank God, fellow-citizens, that, though we have been out of power for a quarter of a century, we are to-day, in all that makes adherence and confidence and zeal, as much a party, organized for aggressive action, as when the banners of victory were perched upon our heads. The Democratic party, fellow-citizens, since the war time, commencing with reconstruction, with our hands manacled, with our ballot boxes surrounded by the gleaming bayonet, with carpet-bag rulers, with the voice of free men who pay their taxes to the Government stifled, the Democratic party has lived to see through all this misrule, the day come when, in a great majority of our States, the Democratic party has resumed its control, its power. It has your House of Representatives, and but for treason stalking in the Senate Chamber we would have that too. [Applause.] We have had the Presidency too. [Renewed applause.] But with impious hands, the hands of the robber, our rights were stricken down at the ballot and through perjury and bribery and corruption, men uttering falsehood through pale lips and chattering teeth in the very temples of liberty, stole the Presidency

from our party. [Applause.] Some of the men who participated in it have passed beyond the river, and stand to give account of their stewardship. But history will not lie when it records, as it has, that that Electoral Commission announced in the Senate Chamber through the House that it would consider the question and the evidence of fraud in the returning of the vote of Louisiana. I remember it. It is the blackest page in our country's history [applause], and all good Republicans to-day are ashamed of it. [Loud applause.] They turned their faces as well as their consciences upon the promise of the past, and refused to consider the evidence, all reeking with ignominy and bribery and shame, and counted in a man who had not received under the Constitution and the laws the suffrages of his countrymen. That is a wrong that we have met here to right. [Applause.]

"Eight years have passed; that is true. We are told that the law has given the verdict to them; that is true. When a jury is in its box under the statute of your State and a judge upon the bench who holds the scales of justice unevenly, holds with guilty hands a parchment from the Executive of your State, and allows the jury sitting in the box to condemn a man to death under the ægis of the law, he does what all the law-writers of civilization for hundreds of years have cursed and damned as legal murder. [Applause.] Oh, the great sin of that Electoral Commission remains to-day unpunished, and will ever be unavenged so long as the Republican party is in power in this country. [Applause.] I thank God that there is no statute of limitations running in favor of that party [applause]; and in that connection, my fellow-Demo-

crats, be it said to the credit of the Democratic party, that they exhibited none of that spirit of the Hotspur and of that spirit which sought to engulf this country in war, fresh as it was from a great and fratricidal struggle. But our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks [here the speaker was interrupted by long-continued applause, the delegates rising to their feet and waving their hats]—our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks, with the dignity of heroic statesmen, with the courage of men who love their country better than its pelf and its power, accepted the wrong and injury of perjury and of fraud, and they are grander to-day in their defeat than the men who wear the power at the expense of justice and right. [Cheers.] Thus we have succeeded in the face of Federal power; we would have succeeded in 1880 but for Federal gold and Federal greenbacks fresh and uncut from Washington [applause and laughter], money earned and held by star route contractors and the loving friends of a venal Administration. They bought the Presidency.

“Fellow-Democrats, we want reform, God knows, not only in the *personnel* of men, but also in the measures of the Government. [Cheers.] We want men whose very lives and whose very names would be a platform to this people. We want men there who shall in all the departments of the Government—in its department of justice, in its postal affairs, its Interior Department, everywhere—follow its servants with the eye of the ministers of justice and see that every cent that belongs to the Government shall remain with the Government [cheers]; that no tribute shall be demanded except the tribute that is due the Government; that no assessments

shall be levied upon a hundred thousand officeholders who are paid one hundred millions annually, five millions to go into a corrupt political fund. These, we thank God, will be corrected when the Democratic party shall get into power once more. [Applause.] We read of the enunciation of principles by the Republican party. They tell us they have civil service reform, and yet they demand in the next breath from every Federal officeholder of the hundred thousand his tribute to the corrupt fund that shall be paid out to the voters at the polls. They tell us they have a Puritan Government, and yet not a solitary felon has been condemned in the flock of those who have stolen their millions from the treasury. Your Springer committee only on yesterday and the day before tell us of the perjury, of the corruption, of the subornations that run all along through the ministers of justice in the prosecution of the Government. We want real reform—a reform, my countrymen, that shall mean what it says and that will say what it means. [Cheers.]

“Fellow-citizens, it is not my business, as your presiding officer to-day, to enumerate anything that shall be embodied in your platform. But I wish to commend one thing, in this great assemblage of freemen, to your Committee on Platform, that you endeavor to unite upon the basis of principles which we have advocated for the years that are gone, and that you will have no Delphic oracle speaking with double tongue in the platform which shall be named by you. [Loud applause.] Let the Green Mountain boys of Vermont and the men of Maine, of Texas, of Louisiana and Georgia, the men from the Carolinas to the golden coast, demand that the

Committee on Platform shall say in our noble vernacular, the purest English tongue, what they mean, so that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in reading it. In doing this we will declare against the corruptions of the Government that is; we will declare against the enormities of its system of civil service, its department of so-called justice, its postal service, the robbery in high places by men in power. It will say, moreover, that the burdens of the Government shall be placed alike, equally and equitably, upon all classes of our countrymen, having respect for the greatest good to the greatest number [applause]; that the hundred millions of surplus revenue shall not be allowed to accumulate as a corruption fund [applause], and that there shall be a radical reformation and reduction in the taxes as well as the methods of taxation in our country. [Applause.]

"But, fellow-citizens, in conclusion, let me say that harmony and conciliation should rule your counsels. There never was a time in the history of the Democratic party when the enemy invites the victory as now. The great and unnumbered hosts of dissatisfied men of the Republican party are heard in the distance—in New England, in New York, on the lakes and in the West, and everywhere; and while the Democratic party should not deviate one iota from its principles, it should, with open arms, say to these men—hundreds of thousands, God grant there may be!—'Here, here is the party of the Constitution and the Union that loves our common country. Come hither, and go with us for honest rule and honest government.' The Democratic party, while it may have its local differences, when the onset of the

charge comes will be together, and whoever you may nominate of all the great and good names that are before you, from the East to the West, from the North to the South, he who stands back in the hour of peril, forsooth his own State or himself, shall not have received the choice, yea, the choice of his heart, is less than a good Democrat, and hardly a patriot, in this our country's hour of peril.

"The Democratic party is loyal to the Union. The 'bloody shirt,' in the vulgar parlance of the times, has at each recurring election been flaunted in the face of Southern Democrats, and in your own faces. With Logan on the ticket, I presume it will be again. Blaine could hardly afford it [laughter], as he did not indulge much in that 'unpleasantness.' [Laughter and applause.] They will endeavor to stir up the bad blood of the past. My countrymen, the war is over for a quarter of a century, and they know it. Why, our boys have married the young maidens of the North, and children have been born to them since those days. [Applause and laughter.] They will continue to go to the altar, and side by side at dying beds they will talk of that bournewhence no traveller returns, will lie down and be buried together. Why, the boys in the blue and the gray have slept together for a quarter of a century upon a thousand fields of common glory. Let their bones alone. They are representing the best blood of the land, and though differing in the days that should be forgotten, the good men of all parties in our country to-day, thank God, have united in the great common progress of our race to forget the war memories of the war times. I thank you, fellow-citizens, for

your attention, trusting that your forbearance will be extended to me. What mistakes I shall make doubtless you will treat lightly and kindly with corrective head. Hoping that success may crown your efforts, that you may send a ticket to our country upon whom all may unite, is the wish of him whom you have honored with your suffrages this day." [Loud and long-continued applause.]

The speech was frequently interrupted by yells of applause, particularly when reference was made to "treason stalking in the Senate," and when the party in power was charged with perjury, bribery, and corruption in attempting to perpetuate its power. When the story of the never-to-be-condoned offence of 1876 was touched upon Dan Voorhees got the whole Indiana delegation upon its feet, and they cheered, flung their hats in the air, and behaved so boisterously as to carry the whole convention with them in their demonstrations of approval. When he spoke of the "fresh cut" greenbacks with which the Indiana election of 1880 was won by the Republicans, Mr. Barnum listened attentively, but was not seen to join in the applause. A significant utterance, and one that was warmly applauded, was that in which he warned the platform makers that the platform must not be a Delphic oracle, speaking with double tongue, but one so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, could understand it. He spoke a word of comfort for dissatisfied Republicans, whom he would welcome with open arms to "come with us for honesty."

Secretary Prince reported the temporary organization, including the list of Secretaries and reading clerks, and then Mr. Bradley B. Smalley, of Vermont, was recognized, to move that the rules of the last convention be adopted with the following modification :

"That in voting for candidates for President and Vice-President, no State shall be allowed to change its vote until the roll of States has been called and every State has cast its vote."

Mr. Grady rose in the New York delegation amid a storm of hisses and cheers, the cheers coming from the crowds of Tammany men in the audience. He held a paper in his hand, and sent it to the platform. It contained an amendment as follows :

"And when the vote of a State, as announced by the Chairman of the delegation from such State, is challenged by any member of the delegation, then the Secretary shall call the names of the individual delegates from the State, and their individual preferences, as expressed, shall be recorded as the vote of such State."

While the applause which followed the reading of the resolution was being indulged in by Tammany sympathizers, the round, smooth face of Col. Fellows was seen rising in the New York delegation. He stood upon a chair and spoke in a clear, penetrating voice that could be heard in every part of the hall. He spoke for the State Convention, whose ambassadors and representatives alone they were upon

the floor, elected by its will, clothed with all the authority they possessed by its action. He spoke calmly, forcibly, and directly, insisting that under the direction of the State Convention the sentiment of the delegation should first be ascertained through the expression of a majority, and that New York thereafter should give voice to that expression by the unanimous vote of its delegates as a unit. This was heartily applauded, and Mr. Fellows went on to say :

“Boldly, sir, and plainly, in no spirit of acrimony, but with an earnest desire that the trust reposed in us shall be accompanied by the conditions which those who gave the trust laid upon us, I challenge the right of this convention to defeat the will of New York as expressed by its convention. [Applause.] Sirs, you shall not, at least, strip from the brows of our sovereign queen her crown without a protest upon the part of some of her loyal subjects. [Applause.] New York, I repeat, gave us our authority. We stand here as representatives, elected by no Congressional districts, but by a convention called according to the usages of our party in the State of New York, assembled at Saratoga Springs. Every element of our party in that State was represented upon the floor of that convention. That convention, by its vote, elected 72 delegates to represent the State of New York and express her will upon the floor of our National Convention; and in conferring upon us this high trust, they told us the methods under which we must exercise that trust in her behalf.”

He then read the instructions given to the delegation by the New York convention, meeting with shouts of approval. He insisted that the solemn injunction of the State Convention could not be violated, and that Maine, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Texas had no right to decide what is the will of New York.

Mr. Grady rose to speak, but Mr. Menzies, of Indiana, was recognized, to offer an amendment to the amendment providing that no State should change its vote until the result of the ballot had been ascertained. Mr. Grady then secured recognition. He immediately pitched into Fellows, declaring that his speech was only part of the misrepresentation that had filled the hotels regarding the position of the New York delegation. He gave the Kelly version of the proceedings at Saratoga, insisting upon the right of delegates to representation as from Congressional districts. He saw no danger of stripping the crown from the brow of New York, but he was dreadfully afraid lest, through "the power and influence of political machinery, the honest, truthful voice of the State of New York may not have an effective representation upon this floor." He warmed up as he talked, and soon got to yawping in his accustomed manner, so that few persons out of his immediate neighborhood could understand what he said. This made no difference to the "heelers" in the audience, who *cheered* whenever Grady stopped to catch his breath.

He tauntingly defied the Convention to call the roll to see whether New York's vote was solid, and declared that no machinery in the State of New York could make it so. In closing, he said :

"The gentleman refers to the fact that by a vote of more than two-thirds the delegates have instructed the Chairman to cast the entire vote of our delegation for a candidate. He don't tell you that it took a long while to get even a majority of that two-thirds together. He don't tell you the influences that were exerted in that behalf. He don't tell you that men who came here strong for one candidate voted for another. He don't tell you that if you pass this resolution there are resolute men upon the delegation from New York who will not only give you the reason why one candidate should not be nominated, but will have the right to give their votes to that candidate who they think can win."

At this point hisses arose from all parts of the hall. The Convention was tiring and it was impatient to vote. The Chairman endeavored to quiet the disorder, and Judge Harris, of Virginia, made the point of order that the proposition under discussion should go to the Committee on Rules. The Chair, following the proceeding of the Convention of 1880, and the precedents of preceding Conventions, held the point of order not well taken. He particularly cautioned the galleries against disorder, and insisted that each side should be heard.

Mr. Grady then continued, indulging in some

flings at his colleagues on the delegation, and winding up with the declaration that "there will be no defeat if this Convention adopts the old Democratic method—let every man speak his sentiments, vote for his sentiments, and then whose ever sentiments prevail let all of us give them a hearty support."

Off in the Wisconsin delegation appeared the gray beard of ex-Senator Doolittle, and his stirring, clear voice was heard in support of the unit rule. He argued that as the vote for President is cast by the States as a unit, the States should select the candidate for President in the same manner.

Senator John C. Jacobs, of Brooklyn, who, as has been predicted, would yet be found with the tin cup at his lips, now drank deep of its contents. He announced that he had been in the minority in the delegation when the vote was taken, but, as a Democrat, he bowed to the will of the majority. [Applause.] This matter had all been discussed in the delegation, and by a large majority the delegation had decided to support the old unit rule, as directed by the Saratoga Convention. "If I consulted my personal feelings in this matter," said he, "I should support this amendment of Mr. Grady; but I rise superior to them. We have made the fight in our delegation: we have proved ourselves in the minority, and we accept the result."

There was no mistaking the gentleman with a close-cropped grayish beard and a well-rounded head who rose as soon as Senator Jacobs had con-

cluded. He was New York's own gladiator. His colors were green sprinkled with blood-red, and he was enlisted in the cause of political purity and in voicing the right of the minority to be heard in this particular Convention. Never before had John Kelly shown a disposition to destroy, by deed or word, machine politics. His voice was in wretched condition. He spoke so low that he was with difficulty heard as far as the platform. The Louisianians, in the front row, stood up long enough to look at him and then they settled back, their faces as stern and their manners as haughty as ever. There was applause for Mr. Kelly, for, notwithstanding his political peculiarities, he is, or was up to a late hour to-night, still considered a Democrat in full fellowship with his party. There were some hisses, too, but more cries for him to take the platform, where he could be heard. With accustomed modesty he refrained from taking this step, and, as the cries continued, the Chairman very soon deprived him of all idea of mounting the rostrum by announcing that, unless the Convention otherwise ordered by a vote, all delegates must speak from their positions on the floor. Mr. Kelly spoke in very moderate tones of the danger of the unit rule, whereat smiles crept over the faces of many Democrats who have never known or cared for any other rule. There were, he said, 62 counties in the State of New York, of which only 10 or 12 were Democratic. According to the argument of Mr. Fellows,

the great Democratic County of New York (which would elect a Democratic President if the opportunity were given to them) would be disfranchised. That was the principle which was now presented, and he appealed to the sense and liberality of the Convention in favor of Mr. Grady's proposition. What would be the feeling of the constituents thus disfranchised? he mildly asked. A nest of swallows twittered over his head. A band outside the building struck up "My Mary Ann's a Humming-Bird," and the Louisianians grew restless and yawned. Mr. Kelly was now and then applauded by delegates in his vicinity who were able to hear what he said.

Col. Fellows returned like an English sparrow to the attack. There was extraordinary misconception of the issue involved, he said. The question of stifling the voice of the minority was not even remotely involved. The real question was whether the State of New York had the right to say how the will of her majority should be indicated on the floor.

Mr. Kelly arose to explain, and an amusing colloquy began, in which Tammany's honored leader sought in labored language to show that there were Democrats and Democrats in his city of Gotham.

Mr. Kelly—Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. Fellows—With great pleasure.

Mr. Kelly—My friend from New York, Mr. *Fellows*, and I are on the best of terms in the

world. You, gentlemen, will recollect that we shook hands over the "bloody chasm" in Cincinnati. [Laughter and applause, and cries, "you will do it again."] Therefore, in asking him to permit me to answer his question, I knew he would do it, because before we adjourn in this Convention we expect that he and I will again shake hands over the "bloody chasm." [Loud applause.] I will ask the gentleman this question, and before asking the question, if he permits me, I will make an explanation. Will the gentleman permit me?

Mr. Fellows—Certainly.

Mr. Kelly—There is a division of the Democratic party in the county of New York. There are three county organizations, all claiming to be the regular organization of the Democratic party. In the good feeling which prevailed at Saratoga, and in consideration of the great question which he and I had to meet at the coming Presidential election, it was concluded that because he and I had shaken hands over the "bloody chasm" we should come here again to do the same thing, and consequently I was put on the tail of the ticket. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Fellows—My friend, Mr. Kelly, has well expressed the cordiality of the relations of a personal character which exist between us, and I most heartily and cordially reciprocate them here. We may differ as to methods; we may differ as to organization forms, but I say for him as I say for

myself, that we have but one common end to attain and that is shared by every Democratic delegate upon this floor. [Applause.] But his explanation hardly meets my inquiry, that he was directed to the question as to how he and I obtained the credentials which permit us to be here at all, either from the same or different Congressional districts.

Mr. Kelly—I intended to ask a question, but I did not suppose that it was necessary to ask it. Now, as he has referred to the manner by which the delegates were chosen, I will say that he represents one Democratic party in the city and county of New York, and I represent another. [Laughter.]

Mr. Fellows—One Democratic organization of the same party. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. Kelly—Very well; and because we represent different organizations, and as neither of the organizations could choose two, it was consented that he and I should represent the district; but the great point for the Convention to consider is this. This gentleman proposes now to ignore me and not to allow me to vote in the Convention at all. [Laughter and applause.] Therefore he is willing to vote for me, and it is against that that I protest to this Convention. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Fellows—My friend is quite mistaken. It is quite possible that during the progress of this Convention a dozen questions may arise in the New York delegation where he will be one of a very large majority and I shall be in the minority. When

he, having his will expressed, in the debate in the delegation finds his voice—and that is the point of this contention—through and by the forms prescribed by the State whose authority we bear. That is all that there is of this question.

Col. Fellows had caught the attention of the Convention completely, and it was in rare good humor over his continued references to the unity and harmony which prevailed among New York Democrats. Even the grim face of John Kelly relaxed its sternness when he heard him declare, "Mr. Kelly and myself, he as the David and I as the Jonathan, are in tender sympathy with each other." When he satirically referred to the denunciations of machines and machine methods by Tammany's orators, the Convention broke out into hurrahs and yells and laughter. "We all understood perfectly," said he, "that everything that Mr. Grady and Mr. Kelly and myself do in New York is the spontaneous outcropping of the popular will." The cocksparrow of Gotham's County Democracy was lustily cheered when he sat down.

A roll-call by States on the Grady amendment was ordered. As it was about to begin the venerable figure of ex-Senator Thurman, of Ohio, attracted attention. He had risen to ask information and he was given an ovation. The vote was as follows:

State	Yeas	Nays	State	Yeas	Nays
Alabama,	15	5	Missouri,	8	24
Arkansas,	..	14	Nebraska,	5	5
California,	16	..	Nevada,	6	..
Colorado,	4	2	New Hampshire,	..	8
Connecticut,	2	10	New Jersey,	14	4
Delaware,	6	..	New York,	..	72
Florida,	2	6	North Carolina,	10	12
Georgia,	12	12	Ohio,	25	21
Illinois,	22	22	Oregon,	..	6
Indiana,	30	..	Pennsylvania,	21	39
Iowa,	6	20	Rhode Island,	..	8
Kansas,	3	15	South Carolina,	3	14
Kentucky,	20	16	Tennessee,	17	..
Louisiana,	..	6	Texas,	12	10
Maine,	2	10	Vermont,	..	8
Maryland,	..	16	Virginia,	6	18
Massachusetts,	21	7	West Virginia,	9	3
Michigan,	12	12	Wisconsin,	5	17
Minnesota,	..	14			
Mississippi,	18	..	Total,	332	463

The announcement of the result of the roll-call was received with tremendous cheering. The original resolution of Mr. Smalley was then adopted by a *viva voce* vote and without further opposition, and the organization of the Convention was completed by the selection of Committees, and by the adoption of a resolution referring all resolutions to the Committee on Resolutions without debate. One of these resolutions so referred was offered by Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, giving the Territorial delegates the right to vote in the Convention. The Convention then adjourned until 11 o'clock next day.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION—SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS—A DAY OF SPEECHMAKING—BAYARD, THURMAN, McDONALD, CARLISLE AND CLEVELAND NAMED.

ON Wednesday the convention was opened with prayer by the Right Rev. Bishop McLaren, of the diocese of Chicago.

The report of the committee on permanent organization was then made, the name of W. H. Vilas, of Wisconsin, being presented as president, with a list of vice-presidents (one from each State) and several secretaries and assistants, and that the secretaries and clerks of the temporary organization be continued under the permanent organization. The report was unanimously adopted and Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, with five other gentlemen, were appointed to escort Mr. Vilas to the chair.

On assuming the chair Col. Vilas spoke as follows :

"Gentlemen of the National Democracy : I know full well that this mark of your favor is no personal compliment, but is a recognition of the young Democracy of the Northwestern States, and I claim it to be justly their due as a tribute for their lofty zeal and patriotism, for their long and gallant struggle against an outnumbering foe, and for their great and growing numbers, and I hail it as a pres-

age and prototype of their coming triumph. [Applause.] But I am proud, though honored beyond all deserving, in being selected as their representative, and I gratefully acknowledge my obligation and render you hearty thanks for the honor you have been pleased to confer. [Applause.] No pledge is necessary for the continuance of their devotion. As it has hitherto been, let it abide in the contest now at hand, till the object shall be achieved in the restoration of upright and constitutional government. [applause.]

Fifty-five millions of free men who are and one-hundred millions who soon will be our nation, earth's greatest, noblest free society, will rejoice in the well-considered work of this Convention. [Applause.] Its import and value lie not in mere partisan success, in touching the spoils of office. It is a nobler opportunity. The hour is pregnant with mighty possibilities of good to men. Liberty—constitutional liberty—strangling in the surf of corruption, injustice and favoritism, cries aloud for resurrection, for purification and reform. [Applause.] An assemblage of politicians such as long possession of unlicensed power creates but recently filled this hall with clamor, and it is said to have been too well manufactured to have been the product of infant industry. [Laughter.] They have announced their purposes and they claim the submission of the country as if it were theirs to command. Like some corporations which have flourished under their auspices, they have issued a watered stock of promises [laughter], and every one a confession. They have promised redress only of disorders they have themselves committed to the

body politic. [Laughter and applause.] They proffer the infection to cure the disease. [Laughter.] They have tendered nothing adequate or worthy to the fervent aspirations and high hopes of this patriotic and progressive people. To a country which rejoices in restored unity and concord they tender the renewal of sectional strife. To a nation which feels the impulse of a mighty growth and yearns for leaders in noble prosperity, they offer the inspiration of national calamity and misfortune. To a proud and sensitive people demanding deliverance from dishonoring corruption, demanding decency in the selection and cleanliness in the holding of their public stations they offer the gilded arts of skillful demagoguery. [Applause.] To the generous ardor of youth, nobly ambitious to achieve a freeman's manhood, they proffer the elevating sentiments of the party machine; to the men of toil, seeking only equal opportunity to earn a freeman's livelihood, they say, 'Be your master's villains and you shall have bread.' [Applause.] The burden of their campaign is already made manifest and, in common political parlance, 'soap' [laughter] is its inspiration and ammunition. [Laughter and applause.] The boisterous cry of the drill sergeant, the black list for the hesitating, rewards to the willing—that is the politician's share; while from the ranks of those who amass the fruits of others' labor the copious streams of pecuniary profit will summon the booty of sweetened sophistries to the ear of the weak and ignorant. Some are induced to expect advantage from the chaotic possibilities of foreign war; while others, relief or gain for legalized irruptions upon the National Treasury. Twice already has liberty sunk beneath the waves

of fraud and venality. She has seen her chosen servants displaced by chicane, and her people temporarily enslaved by fraudulent usurpation of their places. She has seen a national election perverted by the stream of money which flowed from gaping wounds at Washington. Can she rise a third time, if again submerged by her enemies?

"No patriot here can contemplate contemporaneous events without a profound conviction that the duties of this hour rise far beyond partisanship. There is one supreme question before us. How shall we most surely rescue the republic? I know you will pardon me for saying it is no time for personal devotion or a personal canvass. No man has the slightest claim to our personal preferences, and we have no personal preferences, no personal objections. [Cheers.] And this spirit now animates the expectant hope which is turned to this Convention from every quarter of this Union. We have ceased to fight in fratricidal war; the sin of slavery has been purged; the crime of secession has been punished; both are at an end, and the chained man's sorrows are forever closed and stand in memory only as safeguards for the national justice, peace and union forever. [Cheers.] The horrors of the dreadful hour of internecine conflict must stimulate suitable honor and reward to the noble men whose lives were offered then for their country's salvation. The hour of peace and concord, the restored joy of happy liberty and enduring union, are their highest honor, and he who fans a dying spark of enmity strips the tenderest leaves from their laurels of glory. [Cheers.] Doubly wicked is he who perils a nation's peace and happiness to serve by such ends a vain ambition.

[Cheers.] The day for such attempts has passed. A new generation is on the scene of action—an educated and intelligent generation. They understand our institutions. They comprehend the tremendous growth and capabilities of this country, and they accept the responsibilities which have devolved upon them. Their realizing sense is keen that the welfare and progress of this people demand an utter and radical change in the administration of the Government. [Applause.]

“They have heard repeated promises of reform with each recurring election, and with disgrace and shame they witness each new administration discover deeper iniquities than those it promised to amend. [Applause.] There is a growing conviction that the one reform which will work all others, and is the condition of all, is the utter defeat of the present party in power. [Applause.] The prosperity and progress and hope of this republic rest to-day upon the wisdom and patriotism of the democracy now here in convention. [Loud applause.] It is adequate to the great responsibility. It is the party which brings down the traditions and represents the principles upon which this government was founded as a homestead of equality and liberty. [Applause.] It is the party of Thomas Jefferson [applause], of James Madison [applause], and of Andrew Jackson. [Applause.] As they taught and led it it stands to-day the party of the people for honesty, capability and fidelity in the public service, for strict principles of political economy in their public affairs, for encouragement of every art and industry, the development of trade and manufactures, with equal justice to all. [Applause.] It stands as they inspired it—the party

of the people, for the generous diffusion of knowledge, the elevation of every man, for common rights and equal opportunities for all, the resolute enemy of monopoly, of class favoritism and corporate oppression, the friend of labor, the inspiration of youth, the nursery of free men. [Applause.] It has shared the vicissitudes, the frailties, the faults of humanity. It has profited by the sweet uses of adversities [laughter], and it stands forth to-day with a disciplined patriotism fitted to invoke and receive the restoration of that power which for half a century it wielded to the nation's grandeur and glory. [Applause.] More than five millions of freemen, a greater number than cast the ballots for Lincoln, Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell all combined, who compose this patriotic aggregation—for nearly twenty years it has been recruited steadily and constantly from the upright and fearless, who, preferring the rewards of self-respect to the allurements of power, have shaken the dust from their feet and departed from the Sodom of the so-called republicanism. It has exchanged for these the venal and time-serving men of its own former possession who sought the spoils of office where they were to be found. It has received and continually receives new accessions of those who come in the same character. It has enlisted and caught the fire of the young manhood of this nation, and the spirit of victory rules its councils and rides in the front of its battle. [Applause.] The fatality of blundering has become a republican possession. [Laughter and applause.] And the doom of God's award to folly let us pray may be theirs.

"The triumph of the party of the republic's hope

cannot be longer stayed. A confident expectation may be placed in your wise deliberations. We may hope from your wisdom that the first step will be taken, and that our nation shall be again restored to its real station among the Powers of the earth; its name public, and its commercial fleet again, as of yore, will break the waves of every sea and spread its flag in every sky. [Applause.] We may hope to see the squandering of public wealth cease, Justice to take her place in our laws regulating finance and economy, and we may hope to see a Democratic people of equality and simplicity and frugality where happiness may best be found [applause]; and as millions multiply and the subdued earth yields her abundant increase, while in every form art and industry employ their cheerful labor, the proudest boast of American citizenship shall arise, not from the favored sons of wealth, but from the manly freeman who returns with the evening sun from his place of honored toil to the house which is his own [loud applause], where the blossoming vine and the rose bespeak the fragrant happiness of the loved ones at home. [Applause.]

"Gentlemen, in the arduous duties before me I implore your generous forbearance. I stand in greater need of your indulgent consideration by a comparison in which I must suffer with the brilliant services of the distinguished gentleman who has just filled this chair [tremendous applause] with the well-deserved plaudits of this convention. [Loud applause.] I pledge you my utmost efforts to administer my functions here with impartiality." [Loud applause.]

At the conclusion of the address of Mr. Vilas Mr. Sowden, of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution for the call of the roll of States and for the placing in nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. A motion was made to lay on the table. The question was taken by a vote by States, and resulted in the negative by a vote of 282 yeas to 521 nays.

Motions to adjourn were voted down, and at 2 p. m. the call of States for nominations for President and Vice-President was begun. California was to have put Thurman's name in first, but Breckinridge was absent, and the call went on until Delaware was named. As George Gray, of that State, mounted the platform a mighty shout went up from all the house. Mr. Gray is Attorney-General of Delaware and a sturdy-built man of forty-five. He speaks with marked emphasis, though not with conspicuous eloquence of diction or felicity of phrase, but in a common sense, straightforward, manly way that appeals to the head as well as the heart. His assertion that Bayard's nomination would heal all factional feeling brought a smile to the stern face of John Kelly and loud shouts of applause from the galleries. Then came the old ticket to the front in the personal presence of Thomas A. Hendricks, who took the platform to present the name of Senator McDonald.

Governor Hendricks read his speech, which was a review of the flagrant abuses of the Republican

party and a line of suggestions to the new Democratic President. The speaker left his written speech when he took hold of Indiana and McDonald as her chosen candidate, and became positively eloquent, his earnestness being full of thought and pith. There were gleams of humor all through, and his quaint allusions to New York made the house hurrah. Having closed, Governor Hendricks started for his seat, but it was a long, tedious pathway. The whole assembly cheered him to the echo, and Indiana literally fell upon his neck and embraced him. It was then deemed good politics to follow up the McDonald boom, so Gen. Black, of Illinois, proceeded to second the nomination. It was regarded as significant that Illinois should come to the help of Indiana, and the ringing speech of Black fell in fallow ground. Hendricks and Voorhees listened to it with smiling faces, and point after point was greeted with loud applause in every delegation. Black took his seat and held an impromptu reception for a few moments.

California was then recalled, and was represented by John W. Breckinridge, son of the late Democratic Vice-President of the United States, who was not unjustly deprived of his position. Mr. Breckinridge offered the name of Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio, in a felicitous speech, which he delivered in a round, full, sonorous voice and a pleasant manner. Governor Ward, of Ohio, seconded Thurman's nomination in a brief speech, which

took well with the audience and kept the ball of enthusiasm rolling. He insisted that Ohio is the battle-field of the campaign, and that if it can be carried in Ohio the issue is decided in advance.

James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky, then followed in a brief presentation of Speaker Carlisle, whose name was pleasantly but not enthusiastically received. The speaker hit the right keynote when he suggested that the war was ended and it was about time for the statute of limitations to begin operations, and, warming up, he stirred the audience more than any of his predecessors. He insisted on addressing the chair and the platform. The delegates and the audience wanted to hear him and they shouted to him to turn to them and kept at it. Finally he said, "What do you want?"

"Face the audience," they shouted.

"I will," said he. "I'm not afraid to face you," and on he went, attended by peals of laughter and great and good-humored applause.

General Hooker, a one-armed citizen of Mississippi, seconded Bayard's nomination, although Carter Harrison endeavored to secure an adjournment until seven o'clock in the "interest of 5,000 thirsty and 10,000 hungry men and women." General Hooker has a voice which penetrates like the whistle of a locomotive, and a facility of expression, with a fertility of illustration, which made his speech a charm and a delight. His peroration was eloquence itself.

New York was called, and the vast assemblage yelled itself hoarse until Daniel M. Lockwood began to speak in favor of the nomination of Governor Cleveland. Mr. Lockwood is fortunate in having nominated Mr. Cleveland to every public position he ever held. He held the attention of the audience from the first, and every word he spoke came out as if flung from a catapult, and penetrated every nook of the enormous building. When Lockwood mentioned Cleveland's name the Cleveland men of New York sprang to their feet, and the galleries went into ecstasies of unfeigned hurrahdome.

Mr. Lockwood spoke as follows :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention : It is with no ordinary feeling of responsibility that I appear before this Convention as the representative of the Democracy of the State of New York [applause] for the purpose of placing in nomination a gentleman from the Empire State as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic administration. [Applause.] This responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history done at Washington, an outrage on the rights of the American people, was in 1876, and that that outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged [applause], and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I shall present to

you has been my political associate from my youth. Side by side have we marched to the tune of Democratic music; side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and we love the faith in which we believe; and during all this time he has occupied a position comparatively as a private citizen, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principle. No man has greater respect or admiration for the honored names which have been presented to the Convention than myself; but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly. From the North to the South new men—men who have acted but little in politics—are coming to the front [applause], and to-day there are hundreds and thousands of young men in this country, men who are to cast their first vote, who are independent in politics, and they are looking to this Convention, praying silently that there shall be no mistake made here. They want to drive the Republican party from power. They want to cast their vote for a Democrat in whom they believe. [Applause.] These people know from the record of the gentleman whose name I shall present that Democracy with him means honest government, pure government and protection of the rights of the people of every class and every condition.

A little more than three years ago I had the honor at the city of Buffalo to present the name of this same gentleman for the office of Mayor of that city. It was presented then for the same reason, for the same causes, that we present it now; it was because the government of that city had become corrupt and had become debauched, and political integrity sat not in high places. The

people looked for a man who would represent the contrary, and without any hesitation they named Grover Cleveland as the man.

The result of that election and his holding that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found herself in a position to want just such a candidate and for such a purpose, and when at the Convention of 1882 his name was placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New York, the same people, the same class of people, knew that that meant honest government; it meant pure government, it meant Democratic government and it was ratified by the people. [Cheers.] And, gentlemen, now, after eighteen months' service there the Democracy of the State of New York come to you and ask you to give to the country, to give to the independent and Democratic voters of the country, to give the young men of the country, the new blood of the country, and present the name of Grover Cleveland as their standard-bearer for the next four years. I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland. I shall not attempt any further description of his political career. It is known. His Democracy is known. His statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and all I ask of this Convention is to let no passion, no prejudice influence the duty which it owes to the people of this country. Be not deceived. Grover Cleveland can give the Democratic party the thirty-six electoral votes of the State of New York on election day. He can, by his purity of character, by his purity of administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right, bring to you more votes than can anybody else. Gentlemen of the Con-

vention, but one word more. Mr. Cleveland's candidacy before this Convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom and his Democracy. {Cheers.} Upon that ground we ask it, believing that if ratified by this Convention he can be elected and take his seat at Washington as a Democratic President of the United States.

Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, then seconded Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and his reception by New York and the vast audience was simply immense.

Mr. Jones, from Minnesota, also seconded Cleveland's nomination.

Mr. Apgar, of New York, followed, advocating the election of Cleveland; and soon after the Convention adjourned for the day.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD DAY OF THE CONVENTION—NOMINATIONS COMPLETED—SEVEN CANDIDATES PLACED IN THE FIELD—THE PLATFORM ADOPTED—THE PLATFORM ACCEPTABLE TO PROTECTIONISTS AND TO FREE TRADERS—THE FIRST BALLOT TAKEN.

At a quarter past eleven on Thursday General Vilas called the convention to order and introduced a clergyman named Lorrimer, who delivered a prayer, after which considerable routine business was done, and the programme of delay was proceeded with by an announcement that the Committee on Resolutions would not be able to report until half-past seven.

Pennsylvania was then called, and Senator Coxe, chairman of the delegation, promptly rose and said that Senator Wallace would, in obedience to the wishes of the State, present the name of Samuel J. Randall. When the tall, slender form of Wallace appeared on the platform he was greeted with hearty cheers, and his speech more than met the high expectations of Randall's friends. It was short, incisive and impressive, and went directly to the heart, and forcibly, but with merciful dignity, contrasted Randall with his competitors. There was an obvious Cleveland tone between the lines,

but the blows were so skilfully dealt that none could complain. He named Randall in a well-rounded climax and called out for the Pennsylvania candidate a tempest of applause. Governor Abbett, of New Jersey, followed.

It was nearly half after two when the Convention adjourned. It being understood that the evening would be devoted to a consideration of the platform, and possibly a ballot or so, the great body broke up and slowly walked to the hotels.

At half-past eight o'clock the Convention was called to order by General Vilas, about 12,000 people being present.

Mr. Henry, of Mississippi, offered a resolution expressive of regret that Tilden and Hendricks would not accept, and reciting the great services and worth of the individuals. On motion of Orestes Cleveland, of New Jersey, time was consumed and saved as well, by making up the list of the National Committeemen, and of the committee to notify the nominees.

At twenty minutes after nine o'clock Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, took the platform to present the report of the Committee. He was greeted with great cheering, and when the fact of this step toward the business of the evening was made known to the crowd outside the hall, the cheers inside were echoed outside. The clerk read the declaration and resolutions and was listened to with

great attention, now and then interrupted by applause.

THE PLATFORM.

"The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognize that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voices of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government; but it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country—hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is

a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party. Yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

"Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office. The Republican party during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

"It professes a preference for free institutions;

it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor; it has subjected American workmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it created and has continued them. Its own tariff-commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent. reduction; its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law; attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It 'accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform;' its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, out-breaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing

surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward. The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

“Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the Custom-House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardless of the labor and capital thus involved, the process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor,

and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-houses, taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered. The system of direct taxation known as the 'internal revenues' is a war tax and, so long as the law continues, the money levied therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers—a like fund for the sailors having been already provided—and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

"We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none. We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money

without loss. Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political. We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order. The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

"We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil service reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship. While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon the scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

"We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor and the enactment of laws by which labor organi-

zations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor. We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees. We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

"In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed. The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization issued by courts of com-

petent jurisdiction must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great water ways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy

our commerce has been left to British bottoms and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors flying the Stars and Stripes in every port successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain along with our commerce the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy freedom for American labor by reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

"With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman, through whose person was

struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts for the reason that the achievement of reform in the Administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

"With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital and the general welfare of the whole country."

The members of the Platform Committee paid close attention to every point. Among them were four journalists. The veteran delegate in the convention, the one man who has for forty years been of the Democratic faith and helped to make platforms and candidates, is Alfred E. Burr, editor of the *Hartford Times*.

Mr. Converse, of Ohio, rose and put in a good word for the platform. He has a good voice, and used it with vehement liberality. When he concluded it was eleven o'clock, and Mr. Cleveland's managers began to fear they would be unable to secure even one ballot that night. Mr. Watterson followed, and was well received. The main question was ordered at ten minutes after eleven, when Butler, in reply to questions, pointed out the sections he desired substituted, and the call by States (a long and tedious process) began. The vote stood 97½ yeas and 714½ nays. Then Butler moved to add the remainder of his report to the majority report. This was lost, and the majority report was adopted with great cheers. All sorts of motions followed. An attempt to adjourn was voted down, and then the call of States for the nomination of a President was ordered. It was then twenty minutes of twelve.

THE FIRST BALLOT.

Before the State of Alabama had responded to the call a motion for a recess till next morning was interposed and the vote upon it taken by States. The vote on taking a recess resulted in the negative—ayes, 196; nays, 616½. The convention then proceeded at 12.05 to take the first ballot, with the following result in favor of the Hon. Grover Cleveland, present Governor of the State of New York.

Cleveland.....	392
Bayard	170
Randall.....	78
Thurman.....	88
McDonald.....	56
Carlisle.....	27
Hoadly.....	3
Flower.....	4
Tilden.....	1
Hendricks.....	1

There was prolonged cheering after the announcement. A motion to adjourn was made at 1.10 A. M. The motion having been seconded by New York, was agreed to, and the convention adjourned until 10 A. M. next day.

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH DAY OF THE CONVENTION—SECOND BALLOT—GROVER CLEVELAND, OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT BY 683 OUT OF 820 VOTES—THE NOMINATION MADE UNANIMOUS—THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, OF INDIANA, UNANIMOUSLY NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—GREAT ENTHUSIASM OVER THE RESULT—ADJOURNED SINE DIE.

THE convention was called to order at 11 o'clock on Friday morning, and prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Clinton Locke, of Grace Church, Chicago. He prayed that the consultations of the body be for the furtherance of just and equal laws, for the preservation of liberty, for the punishment of wrong-doers, and for the praise of those who do well; that every delegate should be kept from being guided by his own selfish gain, by his own pride, or his own likings or dislikings.

A delegate from Pennsylvania moved that the convention now proceed to a second ballot. So ordered.

Then Mr. Sowden (Pa.), with thanks to those who had voted for Samuel J. Randall, withdrew that gentleman's name.

The second ballot commenced at 11.20 A. M.

When Illinois was reached Gen. Palmer arose to announce the vote and said, "Illinois casts one

vote for Thomas A. Hendricks," and then paused, as if waiting for the outcome of some preconcerted arrangement. Gen. Mansur (Mo.) jumped up and emitted a terrific yell. This was immediately taken up by the audience, and a tremendous shout arose from all parts of the hall south of the space allotted to delegates. The excitement and noise swept gradually around among the audience in the rear of the delegates and rolled in a tremendous wave through the vast mass of spectators congregated in the north wing of the chamber. With all this turmoil about him Gov. Hendricks preserved an external calmness which contrasted strikingly with the frenzy that possessed the vast assemblage.

Senator Voorhees appeared at the side of the Chairman, and the noise and excitement gradually subsided. Finally Mr. Voorhees' voice was heard calling, "Mr. Chairman." The Chair said, "Gentlemen of the convention, take your seats; the gentleman from Indiana has the floor."

Mr. Voorhees then spoke as follows: "Gentlemen of the convention—I understand there is a call of the roll of the States in progress at this time. I am reminded by the Chairman that nominations are not now in order. I stand before you, however, at the unanimous request of the delegation of which I am a member to withdraw the name of Joseph E. McDonald [here a wild burst of applause drowned the voice of the speaker] for the

purpose, at the proper time, of casting the vote of Indiana for Thomas A. Hendricks." [Renewed and tremendous applause.]

The vote of Illinois was then further announced as 38 for Cleveland.

This was the opportunity for the friends of the New York candidate, and they availed themselves of it, the delegation from that State rising to their feet and cheering lustily, while they waved fans, hats and handkerchiefs.

The announcement of the Illinois vote was then continued and was thus summed up, Hendricks having received another vote during the excitement: Hendricks, 2; Cleveland, 38; Bayard, 3; McDonald, 1.

When Kentucky was called Mr. McKenzie, who nominated Carlisle, withdrew that nomination and announced the vote of Kentucky as follows: For Thurman, 1; Cleveland, 3; Bayard, 7; Hendricks, 15. [Cheers.]

New York—Cleveland, 72. [Mr. Manning announced that on polling the delegates there were 50 for Cleveland and 22 scattering. Mr. Cochrane asked in the name of the disfranchised minority of the New York delegation to have that last statement extended in the minutes.]

North Carolina—Bayard, 22. [A delegate stated that there were 16 of the North Carolina votes for Bayard and 6 for Cleveland, but they had agreed on this ballot to cast their vote as a unit.]

The roll being concluded, Pennsylvania was called for, and the Chairman announced: For Cleveland, 42 [another noisy demonstration, which interrupted the further announcement of the Pennsylvania vote]; Hendricks, 11; Randall, 4; Bayard, 2; Thurman, 1.

Illinois corrected its vote as follows: Hendricks, 1; Bayard, 3; McDonald, 3; Cleveland, 37.

Kansas changed her vote as follows: Bayard, 3; Cleveland, 13; Thurman, 2.

North Carolina changed her 22 votes from Bayard to Cleveland. [Great excitement and cheering.]

Virginia changed her vote as follows: Cleveland, 23; Hendricks, 1.

Georgia changed her vote as follows: Cleveland, 22; Bayard, 2.

At this time all the delegates were on their feet, and many of them were clamoring for recognition.

Florida changed her vote as follows: Cleveland, 8.

West Virginia changed as follows: Cleveland, 10.

Maryland changed her 16 votes to Cleveland.

The Missouri delegation announced a change of its 32 votes solid for Cleveland. This set off the enthusiasm again. The cheering was deafening. An anchor of flowers was carried to the New York delegation and a stuffed eagle was carried in procession. The band struck up more patriotic airs, and flags and banners were waved and the excite-

ment reached fever point because the Cleveland vote had nearly reached the necessary two-thirds.

At this juncture, when the success of Cleveland was certain, some of the minority delegates left the hall. Outside the artillery began to boom and inside the uproar was tremendous.

Then the change of California was announced as: Cleveland, 8; Thurman, 8.

Mr. Menzies (Ind.) changed the vote of that State to Cleveland, and moved that the vote be made unanimous.

Illinois changed her 44 votes to Cleveland.

Kansas changed also: Cleveland, 17; Bayard, 1.

The Chairman stated that he would rule out of order the motion to make the vote unanimous until after the result was announced.

California again changed her vote 16 solid for Cleveland.

South Carolina changed: Cleveland, 10; Bayard, 8.

Texas gave her whole 26 votes for Cleveland.

Ohio changed her vote as follows: Cleveland, 27; Thurman, 19.

Tennessee changed her vote to Cleveland.

Iowa transferred her 26 votes solid to Cleveland.

At this moment an immense painting of Gov. Cleveland was carried on the platform waiting to be set up when the vote should be announced, and still the work of changing the votes was going on in the most confused manner.

The votes of the States in detail were then (1 o'clock) announced by the Clerk for verification.

The general result was announced as follows, at 1.10 P. M.:

Whole number of votes cast.....	820
Necessary to choice	547
Cleveland	683
Hayard	81½
Randall	4
Hendricks.....	45½
McDonald	2
Thurman.....	4

The question was then put on Mr. Menzies' motion to make the nomination unanimous, and it was carried triumphantly.

After order was restored the Chair announced that the motion to make the nomination unanimous having been carried, Grover Cleveland was declared the nominee of the National Democracy for the next Presidency of the United States. [Cheers.]

The Convention, at 1.25, took a recess until 5 P. M.

The following table gives the vote of each State for Presidential candidates on each of the two ballots:

States and Territories.	1st Ballot.					2d Ballot.		
	Cleveland.	Hayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Cleveland.	Hayard.	Hendricks.
Alabama,	4	14	1	1	..	5	14	..
Arkansas,	14	..	..	..	..	14	..	..
California,	..	..	..	16	..	16	..	..
Colorado,	..	..	5	1	..	6	..	..
Connecticut,	12	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Delaware,	..	6	6	..
Florida,	8	8
Georgia,	10	12	2	22
Illinois,	28	2	43

THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

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States and Territories	1st Ballot.					2d Ballot.		
	Cleve-land.	Bay-ard.	Mel-son.	Thor-man.	Rath-bun.	Cleve-land.	Bay-ard.	Thor-man.
Indiana,	..	..	20	..	..	30	..	..
Iowa,	23	1	1	1	..	26	..	..
Kansas,	11	5	..	2	..	17	1	..
Kentucky,	..	..	..	..	..	4	21	..
Louisiana,	13	1	..	1	..	15	..	..
Maine,	12	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Maryland,	6	10	..	..	..	16	..	..
Massachusetts,	5	21	..	2	..	8	7	12
Michigan,	14	1	..	11	..	23	..	..
Minnesota,	14	..	..	..	..	14	..	..
Mississippi,	1	15	..	1	1	2	14	2
Missouri,	15	10	1	1	3	32	..	..
Nebraska,	8	1	..	1	..	9	1	..
Nevada,	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	5
New Hampshire,	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..
New Jersey,	4	3	..	..	11	5	2	11
New York,	72	..	..	..	..	72	..	..
North Carolina,	..	22	..	..	..	22	..	..
Ohio,	21	..	..	..	..	46	..	..
Oregon,	2	4	..	..	..	6	..	..
Pennsylvania,	5	..	..	..	55	42	2	11
Rhode Island,	..	2	..	..	..	7	1	..
South Carolina,	8	10	..	..	..	10	8	..
Tennessee,	2	8	..	9	1	24	..	..
Texas,	11	10	1	4	..	26	..	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	..	..	8	..	..
Virginia,	13	9	1	1	..	23	..	1
West Virginia,	7	2	..	2	1	10	2	..
Wisconsin,	12	1	2	2	..	22	..	..
Arizona,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Dakota,	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Idaho,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Montana,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
New Mexico,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Utah,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Washington,	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
Wyoming,	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Dis't of Columbia,	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..
Total,	392	170	56	88	78	683	814	454

On the first ballot Carlisle received the 26 votes of Kentucky, and 1 from Wisconsin; Hoadly received 2 votes from Ohio and 1 from Louisiana; Tilden, 1 from Tennessee; Flower, 4 from Wisconsin, and Hendricks 1 from Illinois.

On the second ballot Randall received 4 votes from Pennsylvania; Thurman 1 from Kentucky, 1 from Louisiana, 1 from Nevada and 1 from Pennsylvania; and McDonald 1 from Alabama and 1 from Illinois.

It was half-past 5 o'clock before the evening session was called to order, and the first business done was the adoption of a resolution electing Mr. Vilas (Chairman of the Convention) as chairman of the committee to notify the nominees of their selection as candidates.

A telegram was read from the President of the New York Produce Exchange stating that the business men of New York were solid for Cleveland.

The Convention then proceeded to the call of the roll for the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President.

Mr. Searles (Cal.) presented the honored name of General William S. Rosecrans, the hero of Stone River, the faithful soldier, the grand old commander whose image was impressed on the hearts of all the men who served under him. [Cheers for Rosecrans.]

Mr. Branch (Col.) nominated Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana.

Mr. Bacon (Ga.) said he was commissioned by his delegation to present the name of a man eminent in war and in peace, a distinguished commander, a gallant soldier, General John C. Black, of Illinois. [Cheers for Black.]

General Black expressed his appreciation of the high and unmerited compliment paid him. It was almost absolutely a surprise to him, but he had come here as the spokesman and representative of another citizen of the Republic. He had put his hand in the hand of Joseph E. McDonald, and while that gentleman's name was before the Convention, he (Black) could not appear as in any sense his rival for any position. He, therefore, respectfully declined the nomination.

Mr. Munn (Ill.) hoped that the declination would not be received. He paid a high compliment to General Black, saying that when the surgeon was operating on his arm after a battle he declared that although he lost an arm his whole body was firm and true for the Union and firm and true for Democracy. He was without exception the most gallant son that Illinois possessed.

Mr. Pinlow (Kan.) presented the name of Gov. George W. Glick.

A delegate from Missouri seconded the nomination of McDonald.

Mr. Faulkner (Miss.) seconded the nomination of General Rosecrans. No other candidate, he

said, could come so near bringing together all the old brave soldiers who fought on either side in the late war.

Ex-Senator Wallace (Pa.) said that he nominated as a candidate for Vice-President a man conversant with public affairs throughout his whole life, an honored statesman, a pure and upright citizen, a victim of the grossest fraud ever perpetrated on the American people—Thomas A. Hendricks. [Cheers.]

Governor Waller (Conn.) seconded the nomination of Hendricks, and said that the Democratic party would, in defiance of fraud and in accordance with law, place him in the chair of the Vice-President.

The presentation of Mr. Hendricks' name was greeted with enthusiastic cheers, the Convention repeating in a lesser degree, the scene which took place at the morning session in honor of the same gentleman.

Mr. Wallace (Pa.) said that Mr. Hendricks had been once chosen Vice-President and had been despoiled of the office. The Democracy of the Republic demanded of him again his name as a candidate, and they would not take "no" for answer. He moved to suspend the rules and nominate Thomas A. Hendricks as a candidate for Vice-President by acclamation. [Cheers.]

Mr. Searles (Cal.) withdrew the nomination of Rosecrans.

The other nominees were all withdrawn, one by one, so that Mr. Hendricks' name alone remained before the Convention.

Mr. Weed suggested that the roll of States should be called, so as to put on record the unanimous vote for Hendricks.

Mr. Wallace adopted the suggestion, withdrew his motion to nominate by acclamation, and moved that the nominations do now close.

The motion was agreed to, and the Clerk proceeded to call the roll of States. The result was the unanimous nomination of Thomas A. Hendricks as the candidate for Vice-President.

Mr. Menzies (Ind.) asked that that State be excused from voting. [Loud shouts of "No! No!"] He then asked whether there was any name but Mr. Hendricks' before the Convention, and, on receiving an answer in the negative from the Chairman, said: "Then, sir, the State of Indiana casts 30 votes for Thomas A. Hendricks."

This was at the close of the call, making the result a unanimous vote.

The demonstration that succeeded surpassed in vehemence and enthusiasm any similar scene that had taken place during this eventful day.

Finally the Chairman got a chance to make the formal announcement of the vote. He said that there had been 816 votes cast, all of them being for Thomas A. Hendricks, and that Mr. Hendricks was therefore the candidate of the National Demo-

cratic Convention for Vice-President of the United States. [Cheers.]

Having passed the usual votes of thanks to the officers, Mayor Harrison and the citizens of Chicago, the Democratic National Convention of 1884, at 7.25 P. M., adjourned *sine die*.



THE GENERAL POST OFFICE WASHINGTON, D. C.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

HE STANDS ON A PLATFORM, THAT NEEDS NO SUPPLEMENT, OR EXPLANATION—HOW TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT A GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE—THE SUPPORTERS NOW, AS ALWAYS, OF THOSE WHOSE INCOME, LIKE HIS OWN, IS THE WAGE OF LABOR IN A FREE COUNTRY THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL SHOULD BE PRESERVED—PUBLIC SERVANTS SHOULD GIVE FAIR WORK FOR FAIR PAY—VOTERS SEEKING AN HONEST ADMINISTRATION.

THE following letter of acceptance was written by Gov. Cleveland to the Committee, which had notified him of his nomination for President by the National Democratic Committee.

ALBANY, N. Y., Aug. 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication, dated July 28, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled at Chicago.

I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred, and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume.

I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith and the

principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people, needs no supplement or explanation.

It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths, so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the nation that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them.

Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions, but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them.

A government is not by the people when a re-

sult which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is or can be determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

LABOR MUST BE PROTECTED.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dig-

nity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population, and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence, but as intelligent and manly citizens they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and the employed shall alike be subserved and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered :

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of *our* population. They should be protected in

their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our government, and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

CONSERVATION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

In a free country the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus, laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation, to a great extent, determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy trans-

portation should, therefore, be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the General Government should so improve and protect its natural waterways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

The people pay the wages of the public employes, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon the ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

AN HONEST ADMINISTRATION WANTED.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the

party which gives the best promise of administering the Government in the honest, simple and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and the vigilant protection of all their varied interests.

If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who I believe will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

To Colonel William F. Vilas, Chairman, and D. P. Bestor and other members of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS' LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The letter reads as follows :

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Aug. 20, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication notifying me of my nomination by the Democratic Convention at Chicago as candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. May I repeat what I said on another occasion, that it is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired, and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention.

The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity, and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all merely personal desires and preferences of my own. It is with this feeling, and I trust it is so from a deep sense of public duty, that I now accept the nomination, and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen. I have examined with care the declaration of principles adopted by the Convention, a copy of which you have submitted to me, and in their sum and substance I heartily indorse and approve the same.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

To Hon. William F. Vilas, Chairman; Nicholas B. Bell, Secretary, and others of the Committee of the National Democratic Convention.

Interesting Facts about all our Presidents.

ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON.

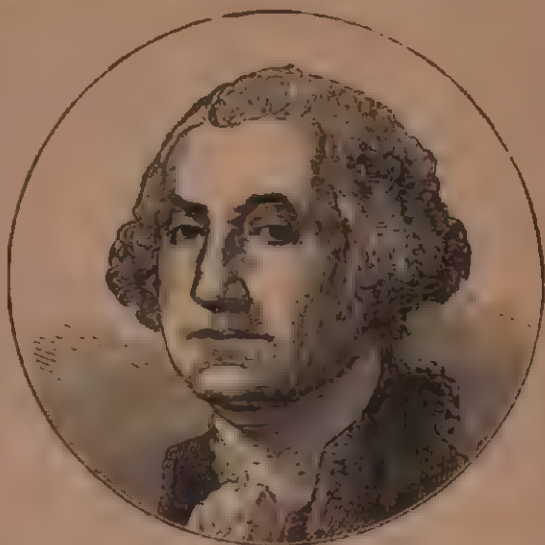
1789-1797.

THE 4th of March, 1789, was the time appointed for the Government of the United States to go into operation under its new organization; but several weeks elapsed before quorums of both Houses of Congress were assembled. The city of New York was the place where Congress then met.

On the 6th of April the electoral votes were counted. At that time, and until 1805, each elector voted by ballot for two persons. If a majority of all the votes were cast for any person, he who received the greatest number of votes became President, and he who received the next greatest number became Vice-President. When the votes were counted they were found to be for George Washington, of Virginia, 69 (all of the electors having voted for him), John Adams, of Massachusetts received 34 votes, and 35 votes were cast for various other candidates.

Charles Thompson, the oldest secretary of Congress, was sent to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. Washington promptly signified his acceptance of the office, and, two days later, started for New York. He was desirous of

travelling as quietly and unostentatiously as possible, but the people of the States through which he passed would not permit him to do so. His journey was a constant ovation. Crowds greeted him at every town with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of affection and confidence; triumphal



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

arches were erected, and his way was strewn with flowers by young girls; and maidens and mothers greeted him with songs composed in his honor. In consequence of these demonstrations his progress was so much retarded that he did not reach New York until the latter part of April.

On the 30th of April Washington appeared on

the balcony of Federal Hall, New York, on the site of which the United States Treasury now stands, and took the oath of office in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and a large crowd of citizens assembled in the streets below. He then repaired to the Senate chamber, and there delivered an address to both Houses of Congress. The plan of the new government being now completed, Congress proceeded to its organization through the departments of the judiciary, of state, of the treasury, of war, and of attorney-general.

President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, and General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War. John Jay, of New York, was made Chief-Justice of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was chosen Speaker of the House; but his election was not a party triumph, for parties were still in a state of utter confusion. Between the extreme Anti-Federalists, who considered the Constitution a long step toward a despotism, and the extreme Federalists, who desired a monarchy modeled on that of England—there were all varieties of political opinion. Washington, through the universal confidence in his integrity and good judgment, had the ability to hold together the conservative men

of all parties for a time, and prevent party contest upon the interpretation of Federal powers until the Constitution should be tested and its value demonstrated to the people.

In 1792 the second Presidential election took place. Washington was anxious to retire, but yielded to the wishes of the people, and was again chosen President by the unanimous vote of the electoral colleges of the several States.

The electoral votes were counted in February, 1793, and found to be for George Washington 132 (all the electors having voted for him), for John Adams 77, for George Clinton 50, for Thomas Jefferson 4, and for Aaron Burr 1. Washington was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1793.

At the close of his term of office Washington withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon, to enjoy the repose he had so well earned, and which was so grateful to him. His administration had been eminently successful. When he entered upon the duties of the Presidency the government was new and untried, and its best friends doubted its ability to exist long; the finances were in confusion, and the country was burdened with debt; the disputes with Great Britain threatened to involve the country in a new war; and the authority of the general government was uncertain and scarcely recognized. When he left office the state of affairs was changed. The government had been severely tested, and had been found equal to any demand

upon it. The disputes with England had been arranged, and the country, no longer threatened with war, but was free to devote its energies to its improvement. Industry and commerce were growing rapidly.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

4th of March, 1797—4th of March, 1801.

At the elections held in the fall of 1796 the Federalists put forward John Adams, of Massachusetts, as their candidate, while the Republicans or Democrats supported Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. The contest was very bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, receiving the next highest number of votes, was declared Vice-President, in accordance with the law as it then stood.

The electoral vote was counted in February and was as follows: For John Adams 71, for Thomas Jefferson 68, for Thomas Pinckney 59, for Aaron Burr 30, and the rest scattering.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Mr. Adams, the second President of the United States, was inaugurated at Philadelphia, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as Vice-President. Mr. Adams was dressed in a full suit of pearl-colored broadcloth, and wore his hair powdered. He was in the sixty-second year of his age, and in the full vigor of health and intellect.



FACTS ABOUT ALL OUR PRESIDENTS.

Mr. Adams made no changes in the cabinet left by President Washington, and the policy of his administration corresponded throughout with that of his great predecessor. He came into office at a time when this policy was to be subjected to



JOHN ADAMS.

the severest test, and was to be triumphantly vindicated by the trial. Mr. Adams began his official career with the declaration of his "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the *belligerent powers of Europe.*"

During the summer of the year 1800 the seat of the general government was removed from Philadelphia to the new federal city of Washington, in the District of Columbia. On the 22d of November, the session of Congress was opened in the unfinished capitol of Washington.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON.

4th of March, 1801—4th of March, 1809.

The elections for President and Vice-President were held in the autumn of 1800. John Adams

was the Federalist candidate for the Presidency, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney the candidate of that party for Vice-President. The Republican or Democratic party nominated Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency, and Colonel Aaron Burr, of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. The alien and sedition laws had rendered the Federalist party so unpopular that the electors chosen at the polls failed to make a choice, and the election was thrown upon the House of Representatives, according to the terms of the Constitution.

The votes of the electoral college were for Jefferson, 73; Burr, 73; Adams, 65; Pinckney, 64; and John Jay, 1. The States that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were nine; to wit, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. Those that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney were seven; to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, and Delaware. Rhode Island cast one vote for Mr. Jay, to prevent that equality of votes on the Federal ticket, which, for the want of a like precaution, resulted on the Republican side, and which caused so much excitement and confusion. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr having received an equal number of votes, there was no election by the colleges, as the Constitution then

stood. It then devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States, to choose for President and Vice-President between Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr.

On the 17th of February, 1801, after thirty-six ballots, the House elected Thomas Jefferson President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States, for a term of four years from and after the 4th of March, 1801.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, was inaugurated at the new capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th of March, 1801. He was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been regarded as one of the most illustrious men in America. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, had represented the country as minister to France, had served in the cabinet of General Washington as Secretary of State, and had filled the high office of Vice-President during the administration of Mr. Adams. He was the founder of the Democratic party, and was regarded by it with an enthusiastic devotion which could see no flaw in his character. By the Federalists he was denounced with intense bitterness as a Jacobin, and an enemy of organized government. He was unquestionably a believer in the largest freedom possible to man; but he was too deeply versed in the lessons of statesmanship, and was too pure a patriot to entertain for a moment the levelling principles with which his ene-

mies charged him. Under him the government of the republic suffered no diminution of strength, but his administration was a gain to the country.

Mr. Jefferson began his administration by seeking to undo as far as possible the evil effects of the sedition act of 1798. A number of persons were in prison in consequence of sentences under this act at the time of his inauguration. These were at once pardoned by the President and released from prison.

At the meeting of the seventh Congress, in December, 1801, President Jefferson, in pursuance of an announcement made some time before, inaugurated the custom which has since prevailed of sending a written message to each House of Congress, giving his views on public affairs and the situation of the country. Previous to this the President had always met the two Houses upon their assembling, and had addressed them in person.

In the fall of 1804 the fifth Presidential election was held. The Republicans, or Democrats, voted for Mr. Jefferson for the office of President; this time Mr. Burr was dropped by his party, who nominated George Clinton, of New York, for Vice-President in his place. The Federals supported Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result was one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clinton, and fourteen only for

Mr. Pinckney and Mr. King. By States the vote stood: fifteen for the Democratic or Republican ticket, and only two States for the Federal. These two were Connecticut and Delaware. So popular was Mr. Jefferson's Administration, that the centralizing party, styling itself "Federal," had become almost extinct. He was inaugurated for a second term on the 4th of March, 1805.

Aaron Burr had at last experienced the reward of his insincerity: both parties had come to distrust him. After his defeat for the Vice-Presidency he had been nominated by his party as their candidate for governor of New York. He was warmly opposed by Alexander Hamilton, who was mainly instrumental in bringing about his defeat. Burr never forgave Hamilton for his course in this election, and took advantage of the first opportunity to challenge him to a duel. They met at Weehawken, on the banks of the Hudson opposite New York, on the 11th of July, 1804. Hamilton, who had accepted the challenge in opposition to his better judgment, and who had expressed his intention not to fire at Burr, was mortally wounded, and died within twenty-four hours. In him perished one of the brightest intellects and most earnest patriots of the republic. His loss was regarded as second only to that of Washington, and the sad news of his death was received in all parts of the country with profound and unaffected sorrow.

The murder of Hamilton, for it was nothing else, closed Burr's political career. His remaining years were passed in restless intrigue.

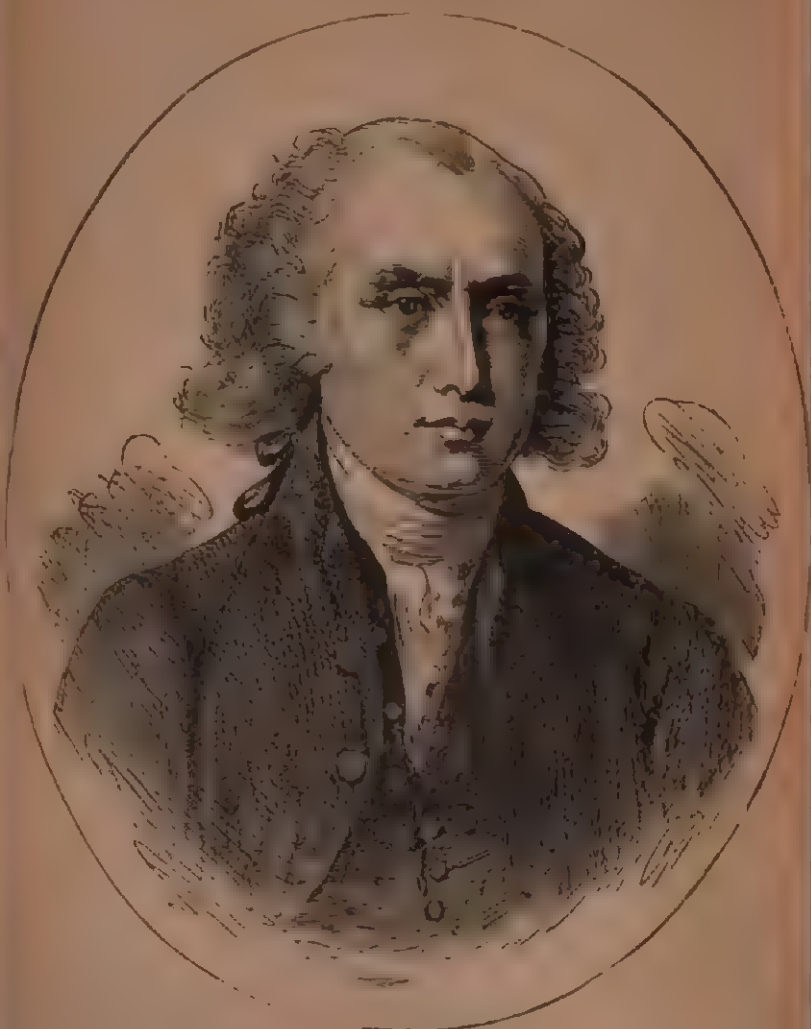
ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

4th of March, 1809—4th of March, 1817.

In the election of 1808 Mr. Jefferson, following the example of President Washington, declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democratic or administration party supported James Madison for the Presidency, and George Clinton for the Vice-Presidency. The Federal party again nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result of the election was, 122 electoral votes for Madison and 47 for Pinckney, for President, and 113 for Clinton and 47 for King for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 12 for the Democratic ticket, and 5 for the Federal. These five were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1809. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and had long been one of the most prominent men in the Union. He had borne a distinguished part in the convention of 1787, and was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1786, which brought about the assembling of this con-

vention. He had entered the convention as one of the most prominent leaders of the national party, which favored the consolidation of the States into one distinct and supreme nation, and had acted with Randolph, Hamilton, Wilson, Morris, and King, in seeking to bring about such a result. When it was found impossible to carry out this plan Mr. Madison gave his cordial support to the system which was finally adopted by the convention; and while the constitution was under discussion by the States, he united with Hamilton and Jay in earnestly recommending the adoption of the constitution by the States, in a series of able articles, to which the general title of the "Federalist" was given. After the organization of the government Mr. Madison was a member of the House of Representatives, and was regarded as one of the leaders of the Federalist party, and gave to Hamilton his cordial support in the finance measures of that minister. Towards the close of Washington's administration, however, Mr. Madison's political views underwent a great change. He was a near neighbor and warm friend of Mr. Jefferson, and was greatly influenced by the opinions and the strong personal character of that great statesman. As the political controversies of the time deepened, he became more and more inclined towards the Republican or "Strict Construction" party, and in Mr. Adams' administration took his position as one of the leaders of that party. At



JAMES MADISON.

the time of his election to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson having withdrawn from public life, Mr. Madison was the recognized leader of the Democratic party, as the Republican party had come to be called.

In 1812 Mr. Madison was again nominated for President by the Democratic party, and Elbridge Gerry, of Connecticut, for Vice-President. De Witt Clinton, of New York, was supported by the anti-administration or old Federal party for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Mr. Madison received 128 electoral votes for President, and Mr. Clinton 89. Mr. Gerry received 131 for Vice-President, and Mr. Ingersoll 86. By States, the vote stood: For the regular Democratic candidates, 11; and for the Opposition candidates, 7. The eleven States that voted for Mr. Madison were: Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana; and the seven that voted for Mr. Clinton were: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.

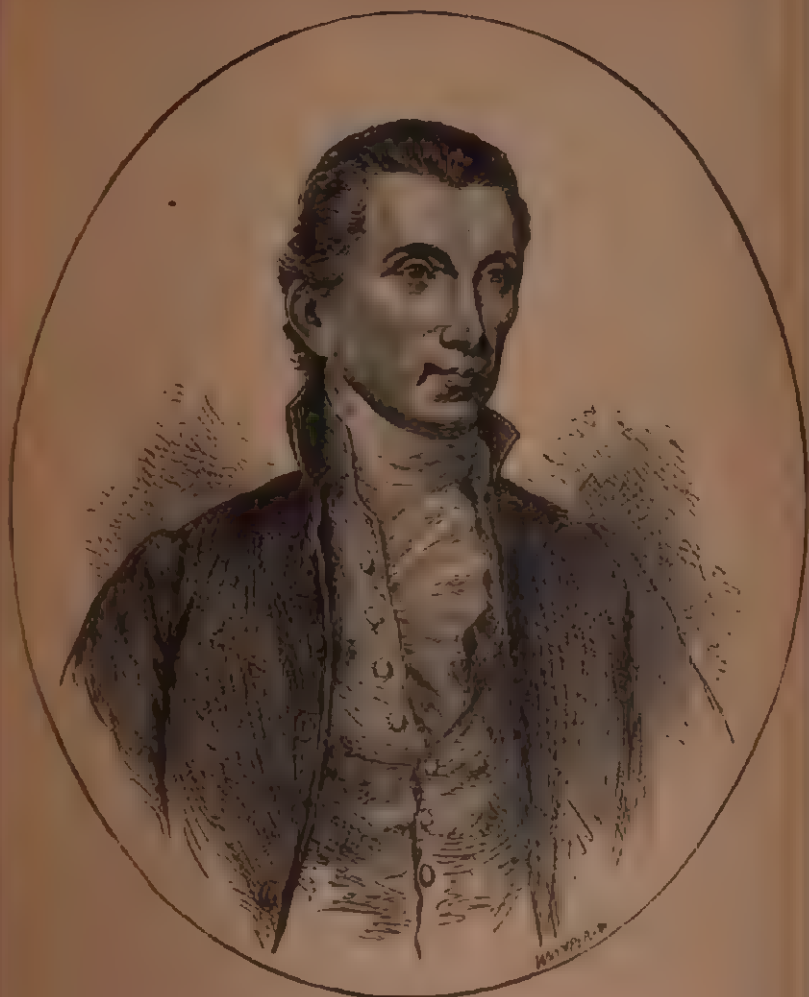
Mr. Madison was inaugurated President for a second time, on the 4th of March, 1813. The most distinguishing feature of his administration was the war with Great Britain. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or the policy of that war, or of its general conduct, the result unques-

tionably added greatly to the public character of the United States in the estimation of foreign powers. The price at which this had been purchased was in round numbers about one hundred million dollars in public expenditures, and the loss of about thirty thousand men, including those who fell in battle as well as those who died of disease contracted in the service. At the close of his term Mr. Madison retired from office, leaving the country at peace with the world, and rapidly recovering from the injurious effects of the late war. He returned to his home at Montpelier, Virginia, where he enjoyed the society of his friends and the general esteem of his countrymen.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

4th of March, 1817—4th of March, 1825.

The eighth presidential election took place in the fall of 1816. Mr. Madison having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, for President; Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for Vice-President, and elected them by large majorities over the Federal candidates, who were: For President, Rufus King, of New York; for Vice-President, John Howard, of Maryland. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was 183 for Mr. Monroe, and 34 for Mr. King, for President; 183 for Mr. Tompkins, and 22 for Mr. Howard, for Vice-President. The vote by States at this election



JAMES MONROE.

stood: 16 for the Democratic, and 3 for the Federal candidates. The 16 States that voted for Mr. Monroe and Mr. Tompkins were: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, and Indiana. The 3 that voted for Mr. King were: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His inaugural address gave general satisfaction to all parties. His cabinet were: John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of War; William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General; Smith Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy. These were all men of distinguished ability, and thoroughly identified with the Democratic party at the time.

In the fall of 1820 Mr. Monroe and Governor Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Monroe received at the polls a majority of the votes of every State in the Union, and every electoral vote but one. The electoral college of New Hampshire cast one vote for John Quincy Adams.

The 4th of March this year coming on Sunday,

Mr. Monroe was inaugurated for the second term on the succeeding day, Monday, the 5th of that month.

Monroe's election had been so nearly unanimous, and party divisions had nominally so far disappeared, that his administration is commonly called the era of good feeling. In reality there was as much bad feeling between the Strict Constructionists and the Loose Constructionists of his party as could have existed between two opposing parties. The want of regularly organized parties had only the effect of making the next Presidential election a personal instead of a party contest, the worst form a political struggle can take.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

4th of March, 1825—4th of March, 1829.

In the fall of 1824 the presidential election was held amid great political excitement. The "era of good feeling" was at an end, and party spirit ran high. There were four candidates in the field, Mr. Monroe having declined a third term; Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay. None of these received a popular majority, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives in Congress, and resulted in the choice of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, as President of the United States.

The result of the electoral vote was 99 for Andrew Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for William H. Crawford, and 37 for Henry Clay, for President; and 182 for John C. Calhoun for Vice-President, with some scattering votes for others. The States that voted for Gen. Jackson were: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama—eleven in all. Those which voted for John Quincy Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New York—seven in all. Those that voted for Mr. Crawford were: Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia. While those that voted for Mr. Clay were: Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri.

Mr. Calhoun, having received a large majority of the electoral votes, was duly declared elected Vice-President; but neither of the candidates for President having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral Colleges, the choice, under the Constitution, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States. This choice was made on the 9th of February, 1825; when, upon counting the ballots, it was found that John Quincy Adams received the votes of thirteen States, Andrew Jackson the votes of seven States, and Mr. Crawford the votes of four States. Mr. Adams having received the votes of a majority of the States was declared elected to succeed Mr. Monroe.

This election produced great discontent throughout the country, and most seriously affected the popularity of Mr. Clay, as the election of Mr. Adams was attributed mainly to his agency, which had been exerted, as was supposed by many, with a view to defeat the election of Gen. Jackson,



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

who by the returns of the electoral vote seemed to stand highest in the popular favor.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated President of the United States. He was the son of John Adams, the second President of the republic, and was in his fifty-eighth



year. He was a man of great natural ability, of strong personal character, and of unbending integrity. He had been carefully educated, and was one of the most learned men in the Union. Apart from his general education he had received a special training in statesmanship. He had served as minister to the Netherlands, and in the same capacity at the courts of Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and England, where he had maintained a high reputation. He had represented the State of Massachusetts in the Federal Senate, and had been secretary of state, in the cabinet of Mr. Monroe, during the last administration. He was, therefore, thoroughly qualified for the duties of the high office upon which he now entered. He called to his cabinet men of marked ability, at the head of which was Henry Clay, who became secretary of state. The administration of Mr. Adams was one of remarkable prosperity. The country was growing wealthier by the rapid increase of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and abroad it commanded the respect of the world. Still party spirit raged with great violence during the whole of this period.

During Mr. Adams' administration the tariff question again engaged the attention of the country. The manufacturing interests were still struggling against foreign competition, and it was the opinion of the Eastern and Middle States that the general government should protect them by the imposition

of high duties upon products of foreign countries imported into the Union. The South was almost a unit in its opposition to a high tariff. Being, as we have said, an agricultural section, its interests demanded a free market, and it wished to avail itself of the privilege of purchasing where it could buy cheapest. The South and the West were the markets of the East, and the interests of that section demanded the exclusion of foreign competition in supplying these markets.

In July, 1827, a convention of manufacturers was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and a memorial was adopted praying Congress to increase the duties on foreign goods to an extent which would protect American industry. When Congress met in December, 1827, the protective policy was the most important topic of the day. It was warmly discussed in Congress and throughout the country. The interests of New England were championed by the matchless eloquence of Daniel Webster, who claimed that as the adoption of the protective policy by the government had forced New England to turn her energies to manufactures, the government was bound to protect her against competition. The Southern representatives argued that a protective tariff was unconstitutional, and was injurious in its operations to the interests of the people of the Southern States, who, being producers of staples for export, ought to have liberty to purchase such articles as they needed

wherever they could find them cheapest. They declared that duties under the protective policy were not only bounties to manufacturers, but a heavy tax levied upon their constituents and a great majority of the consumers in all the States, which never went into the public treasury. The tariff bill was passed by the House on the 15th of April, 1828, and was approved by the President a little later. It was termed by its opponents the "Bill of Abominations."

In the midst of this excitement the presidential election occurred. Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election. The contest between the two parties, the Administration and Opposition, over the powers and limitations of the Federal Government, became almost as hot and fierce as it was in 1800, between the Federalists and Republicans of that day. General Jackson, without any caucus nomination, was supported by the Opposition everywhere for President, and Mr. Calhoun for Vice-President. The friends of the Administration put forth the utmost of their exertions for the re-election of Mr. Adams to the office of President, and Richard Rush to the office of Vice-President. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was, 178 for Jackson, and 83 for Adams; 171 for Mr. Calhoun, and 83 for Mr. Rush. The vote for President by States stood: 15 for Jackson and 9 for Adams. The 15 States that voted for Jackson were: New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North

Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 9 that voted for Mr. Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

March 4th, 1829—March 4th, 1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington, on the 4th of March, 1829.

President Jackson was in many respects one of the most remarkable men of his day. He possessed a combination of qualities seldom met with in any one person. Education had done but little for him; but by nature he was fitted for the government of men both in the field and in the Cabinet. During the Administration of the elder Adams he had occupied a seat in the United States Senate from Tennessee, and gave a most cordial support to the principles of Mr. Jefferson. Resigning his place in that body, he was afterwards elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court of his State. His military achievements in the wars against the Creek and Seminole Indians, and his victory over the British at New Orleans, have been fully recorded.

The election of General Jackson to the Presi-



ANDREW JACKSON.

dency was regarded with some anxiety, for though his merits as a soldier were conceded, it was feared by many that his known imperiousness of will and his inflexibility of purpose would seriously disqualify him for the delicate duties of the Presidency. Nature had made him a ruler, however, and his administration was marked by the fearless energy that characterized every act of his life, and was on the whole successful and satisfactory to the great majority of his countrymen.

General Jackson began his administration by appointing a new cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Secretary of State. Until now the postmaster-general had not been regarded as a cabinet officer. General Jackson invited that officer to a seat in his cabinet and a share in its deliberations, and his course has been pursued by all of his successors.

Early in 1831, the question of the Presidential succession was agitated. The Legislature of Pennsylvania put General Jackson in nomination for re-election, he having consented to be a candidate.

The election took place in the fall of 1832. General Jackson was supported for the Presidency by the Democratic party, and Mr. Clay by the Whig party. The contest was marked by intense bitterness, for Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States, his other vetoes of public improvement bills, and his attitude in the "Nullification" controversy between the United

States and South Carolina, had created a strong opposition to him in all parts of the country. In spite of this opposition he was re-elected by a triumphant majority, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic nominee, was chosen Vice-President.

The following electoral votes were cast for the respective candidates: for Jackson, 219; for Clay, 49; and for Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate, 7 votes. - For Vice-President, the electoral votes stood: for Martin Van Buren, 189; for John Sergeant, 49; for Amos Ellmaker, 7. The vote by States for the candidates for the Presidency stood: 16 for Jackson; 6 for Clay; and 1 for Wirt. The 16 States that voted for Jackson were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 6 States that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky; the State that voted for Mr. Wirt was: Vermont; South Carolina cast her vote for John Floyd, of Virginia, for President, and Henry Lee, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

President Jackson was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1833.

In the meantime serious trouble had arisen between the general government and the State of South Carolina. During the year 1832 the tariff

was revised by Congress, and that body, instead of diminishing the duties, increased many of them. This action gave great offence to the Southern States, which regarded the denial of free trade as a great wrong to them. They were willing to submit to a tariff sufficient for a revenue, but were utterly opposed to a protective tariff for the reasons we have already stated.

The State of South Carolina resolved to "nullify" the law within its own limits. A convention of the people of the State was held, which adopted a measure known as the "Nullification Ordinance." This ordinance declared that the tariff act of 1832, being based upon the principle of protection, and not upon the principle of raising revenue, was unconstitutional, and was therefore null and void. This ordinance was to take effect on the 12th of February, 1833, unless in the meantime the general government should abandon its policy of protection and return to a tariff for revenue only.

The country at large was utterly opposed to the course of South Carolina, and denied its right to nullify a law of Congress, or to withdraw from the Union in support of this right. Intense excitement prevailed, and the course of the President was watched with the gravest anxiety. He was known to be opposed to the protective policy; but it was generally believed that he was firm in his intention to enforce the laws, however he might disapprove of them.

President Jackson took measures promptly to enforce the law. He ordered a large body of troops to assemble at Charleston, under General Scott, and a ship of war was sent to that port to assist the federal officers in collecting the duties on imports. Civil war seemed for a time inevitable. The President was firmly resolved to compel the submission of South Carolina, and the issue of such a conflict could not be doubtful.

Fortunately a peaceful settlement of the trouble was effected. Mr. Verplanck, of New York, a supporter of the administration, introduced a bill into Congress for a reduction of the tariff, and the State of Virginia sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a distinguished citizen, as commissioner to South Carolina, to urge her to suspend the execution of her ordinance until March 4th, as there was a probability that a peaceful settlement of the difficulty would be arranged before that time. South Carolina consented to be guided by this appeal.

Henry Clay, with his usual patriotic self-sacrifice, now came forward in the Senate with a compromise which he hoped would put an end to the trouble. He introduced a bill providing for the gradual reduction in ten years of all duties then above the revenue standard. "One-tenth of one-half of all the duties for protection above that standard was to be taken off annually for ten years, at the end of which period the whole of the other half was to be taken off, and thereafter all duties were to be

levied mainly with a view to revenue and not for protection." This measure with some modifications was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and was approved by the President on the 2d of March, 1833. The people of South Carolina rescinded their "Nullification Ordinance," and the trouble was fortunately brought to an end.

The Administration of Gen. Jackson was distinguished for many acts of foreign as well as domestic policy which cannot be embraced in this brief sketch. Taken all together, it made a deep and lasting impression upon the policy and history of the States. On his retirement, following the example of Washington, he issued a Farewell Address, in which he evinced the most ardent patriotism and the most earnest devotion to the cause of constitutional liberty.

The presidential election was held in the fall of 1836. General Jackson having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party supported Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren was elected; but the electors having failed to make a choice of a candidate for Vice-President, that task devolved upon the Senate, which elected Colonel Richard M. Johnson by a majority of seventeen votes.

The electoral votes cast for the several candidates for President were as follows: 170 for Martin Van Buren, 14 for Daniel Webster, 73 for

William Henry Harrison, 11 for W. P. Mangum, of N. C., and 26 for H. L. White, of Tennessee. Mr. Van Buren, having received a majority, was duly declared President for the next term. The vote by States in this election was: 15 for Mr. Van Buren, 7 for General Harrison, 2 for Mr. White, and 1 for Mr. Webster. The 15 States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the 7 that voted for General Harrison were: Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana; the 2 that voted for Mr. White were: Georgia and Tennessee; the one State that voted for Mr. Webster was Massachusetts.

The votes of the Electoral Colleges for Vice-President were: 147 for Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; 77 for Francis Granger, of New York; 47 for John Tyler, of Virginia; and 23 for William Smith, of Alabama. Neither of the candidates for Vice-President having received a majority of the votes, the choice of that officer devolved upon the Senate, and that body elected Col. Johnson by a vote of 33, against 16 for Mr. Granger.

ADMINISTRATION OF VAN BUREN.

4th of March, 1837—4th of March, 1841.

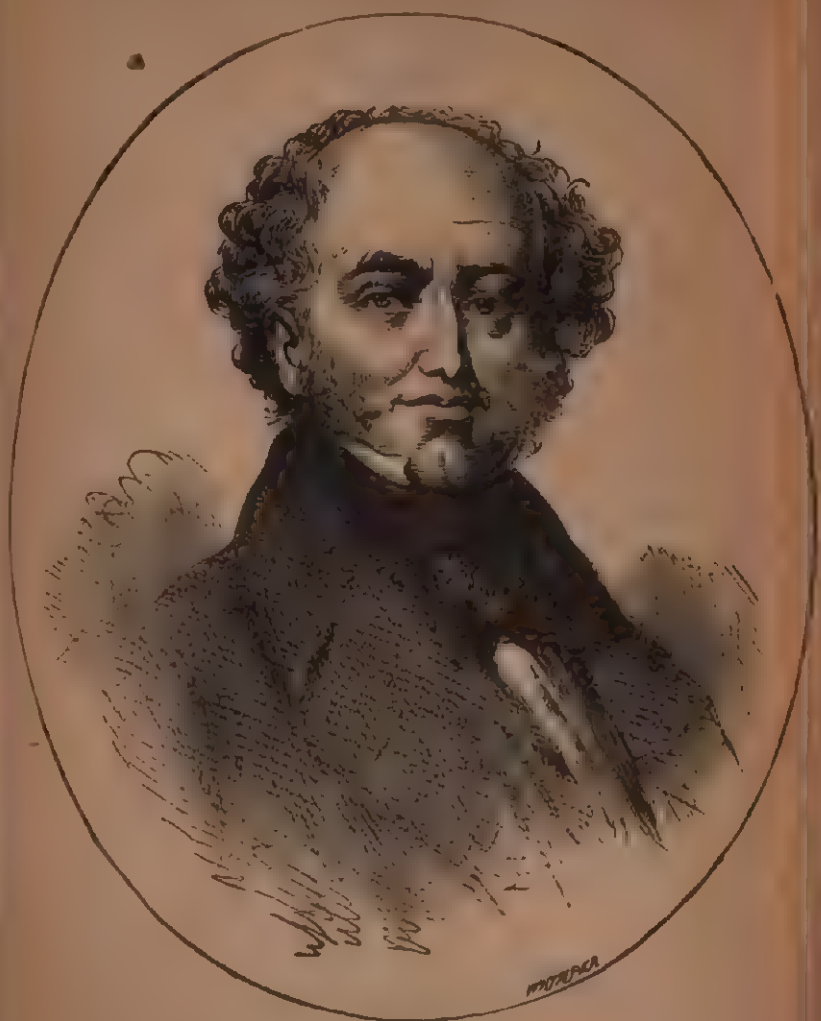
Martin Van Buren, the eighth President of the

United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, in the 55th year of his age. "At high noon the President elect took his seat, with his venerable predecessor, General Jackson, in a carriage, made from the wood of the frigate *Constitution*, presented to General Jackson by the Democracy of the city of New York. In this from the White House they proceeded to the Capitol. After reaching the Senate Chamber Mr. Van Buren, attended by the ex-President, and the members of the Senate, led the way to the rostrum, where the Inaugural Address was delivered in clear and impressive tones. At the close of the Address the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney."

In the Address Mr. Van Buren indicated his purpose, on all matters of public policy, to follow in the "footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

A distinguished writer, in speaking of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, as a whole, says :

"The great event of General Jackson's Administration was the contest with the Bank of the United States, and its destruction as a Federal institution—that of Madison's was the war—while Jefferson's was a general revolution of the anti-Democratic spirit and policy of the preceding Administration. The great event of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, is, the divorce of Bank and State in the fiscal affairs of the Federal Gov-



MARTIN VAN BUREN

ernment, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the Constitution."

In the fall of 1840 another Presidential election was held. Mr. Van Buren and Vice-President Johnson were nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, and the Whigs supported General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The financial distress of the country which had been very great since 1837, was generally attributed by the people to the interference of the government with the currency. This feeling made the Democratic nominees exceedingly unpopular, and the political campaign was one of the most exciting ever conducted in this country.

The principal issues in this contest were the sub-treasury system, extravagant appropriations, defalcations, and profligacy of numerous subordinate officers. The "gold spoons" furnished the Executive Mansion figured prominently in the canvass. All the opposing elements united under the Whig banner. This party held a general convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the 4th of December, 1839, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. It was generally supposed that Mr. Clay would receive the nomination of this body for President. But his course on the Tariff Compromise of 1833 had greatly weakened him with the Protectionists.

When he adopted that course he was told it would lose him the Presidency. His reply at the time was, "I would rather be right than be President." The Democratic party held their general convention in Baltimore on the 5th of May, 1840. Log-cabins and hard cider, which were supposed to be typical of Harrison's frontier life, became very popular with the Whigs. The result of the election, after a heated canvass, was 234 electoral votes for Harrison for President, and 234 for John Tyler for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren received 60 electoral votes for President; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, received 48 for Vice-President; Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, 11, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, 1. The vote for President by States stood 19 for General Harrison and 7 for Mr. Van Buren. The seven States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, and Arkansas.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER.

4th of March, 1841—4th of March, 1845.

William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The city of Washington was thronged with people, many of whom were from the most distant States

of the Union. A procession was formed from his hotel quarters to the capitol. The President-elect was mounted upon a white charger, accompanied by several personal friends, but his immediate escort were the officers and soldiers who had fought under him. The inaugural address was delivered on a



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

platform erected over the front steps of the portico of the east front of the capitol. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, before an audience estimated at 60,000 people.

He was a man of pure life and earnest character, and the certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the federal government had caused

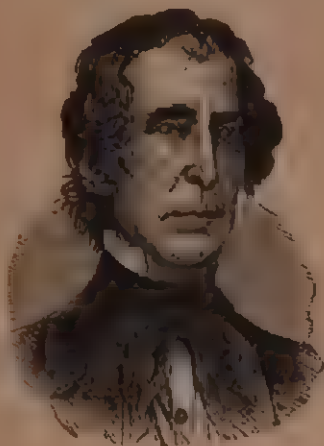
the people of the country to look forward to his administration with hope and confidence. He began by calling to seats in his cabinet men of prominence and ability. At the head of the cabinet he placed Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. The President was not destined to fulfil the hopes of his friends. He was suddenly attacked with pneumonia, and died on the 4th of April—just one month after his inauguration.

It was the first time that a President of the United States had died in office, and a gloom was cast over the nation by the sad event. The mourning of the people was sincere, for in General Harrison the nation lost a faithful, upright, and able leader. He had spent forty years in prominent public positions, and had discharged every duty confided to him with ability and integrity, and went to his grave a poor man.

The office of President now, for the first time, devolved upon the Vice-President, John Tyler, who, by the death of General Harrison, became the tenth President of the United States. He was not in the City of Washington at the time of the death of his predecessor, but repaired to that city without loss of time, upon being notified of the death of General Harrison, and on the 6th of April took the oath of office before Judge Cranch, Chief-Justice of the District of Columbia. Mr. Tyler was in his fifty-second year, and had served as governor of Virginia, and as representative and senator in Congress from

that State. On the 9th of April President Tyler issued an address to the people of the United States, in which there was no indication of a departure from the policy announced in the inaugural of General Harrison. He retained the cabinet ministers of his predecessors in their respective positions.

The last years of Mr. Tyler's administration were devoted to the effort to secure the annexation



JOHN TYLER.

of the republic of Texas to the United States. The territory embraced within the limits of Texas constituted a part of the Spanish-American possessions, and was generally regarded as a part of Mexico.

In April, 1844, Texas formally applied for admission into the United States, and a treaty for that purpose was negotiated with her by the gov-

ernment of this country. It was rejected by the Senate.

In the fall of 1844 the presidential election took place. The leading political question of the day was the annexation of Texas. It was advocated by the administration of President Tyler and by the Democratic party. This party also made the claim of the United States to Oregon one of the leading issues of the campaign. Its candidates were James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania. The Whig party supported Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and opposed the annexation of Texas.

During this campaign, which was one of unusual excitement, the Anti-slavery party made its appearance for the first time as a distinct political organization, and nominated James G. Birney as its candidate for the Presidency.

The result of the campaign was a decisive victory for the Democrats. This success was generally regarded as an emphatic expression of the popular will respecting the Texas and Oregon questions.

The result of the election by the colleges was: 170 electoral votes for James K. Polk, for President, and 170 for George M. Dallas, for Vice-President; 105 for Henry Clay, for President, and 105 for Theodore Frelinghuysen, for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 15 for the Democratic ticket, and 11 for the Whig ticket. Mr. Birney

received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that, out of the popular vote of upwards of two and a half millions, there were polled for him only 64,653. The fifteen States that voted for Mr. Polk were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the eleven that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

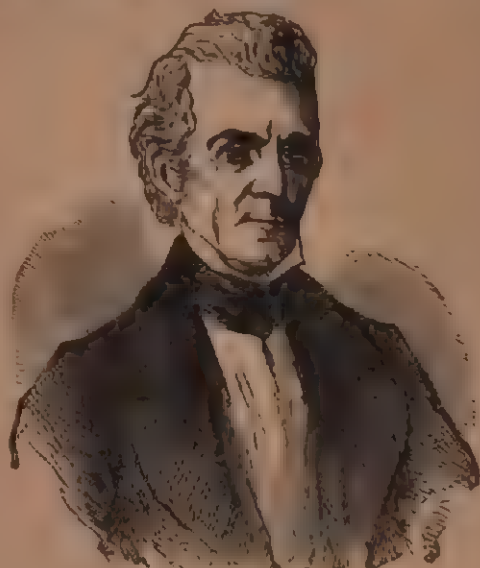
After the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Tyler retired from the seat of Government to his residence in Virginia. His administration was a stormy one, but signalized by many important events. It was during this period that the electro-telegraphic system was established by Morse. A room was furnished him at the Capitol for his experimental operations in extending his wires to Baltimore; and among the first messages ever transmitted over them was the announcement of the nomination of Mr. Polk for the Presidency.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

4th of March, 1845—4th of March, 1849.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845, in the 50th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice

Taney, in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens. In his inaugural, the new President spoke favorably of the late action of Congress in relation to Texas, and asserted that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was clear and indisputable, and intimated his intention to maintain it by force if necessary.



JAMES K. POLK.

The new cabinet consisted of James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee,

Postmaster-General; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

President Polk had served the country as governor of the State of Tennessee, and for fourteen years had been a member of Congress from that State, and had been chosen speaker of that body. Two important questions presented themselves to the new administration for settlement: the troubles with Mexico growing out of the annexation of Texas, and the arrangement of the northwestern boundary of the United States.

During the Presidential campaign of 1844 the Democratic party adopted as its watchword, "all of Oregon or none," and the excitement upon the question ran high. The election of Mr. Polk showed that the American people were resolved to insist upon their claim to Oregon, and when the new President in his inaugural address took the bold ground that the American title to "Oregon territory" "was clear and indisputable," and declared his intention to maintain it at the cost of war with England, the matter assumed a serious aspect, and for a while it seemed that party passion would involve the two countries in hostilities. President Polk, upon a calmer consideration of the subject, caused the secretary of state to reopen the negotiations by proposing to Great Britain the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as a boundary, and that was finally agreed upon.

During the fall of 1848 another Presidential

election came off. The combined elements of opposition to the administration, in the main, continued to bear the name of Whigs, though the anti-slavery element now formed a distinct organization known as "Free-Soilers." The Democratic party held their General Convention at Baltimore, on the 22d of May, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and for the Vice-Presidency General William O. Butler, of Kentucky. The Whigs held their Convention at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and for the Vice-Presidency Millard Fillmore, of New York. The Free-Soilers held their Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 8th of August, and put in nomination for the Presidency Martin Van Buren, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts.

The result of the election was 163 electoral votes for the Whig ticket and 127 for the Democratic. The Free-Soil ticket received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that out of a popular vote of nearly 3,000,000, there were polled for it nearly 300,000 votes. The vote for Taylor and Fillmore by States stood 15; and for Cass and Butler 15 also. The 15 States that voted for Taylor and Fillmore were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North

Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida; the 15 that voted for Cass and Butler were Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Ohio, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Taylor and Fillmore, having received a majority of the electoral votes, were declared elected to the offices of President and Vice-President.

On the 4th of March, 1849, Mr. Polk retired to his home in Tennessee. His administration had been a stormy one. It will, however, always be distinguished in history by its eminently wise financial and revenue policy, the settlement of the Oregon question with England, and the immense acquisition of territory from Mexico. During its period also, great lustre was added to the military renown of the United States.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

4th of March, 1849—4th of March, 1853

The 4th of March, 1849, coming on Sunday General Taylor was duly inaugurated as the twelfth President of the United States on the next day, Monday, the 5th of that month, in the 65th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The new President was a native of Virginia,

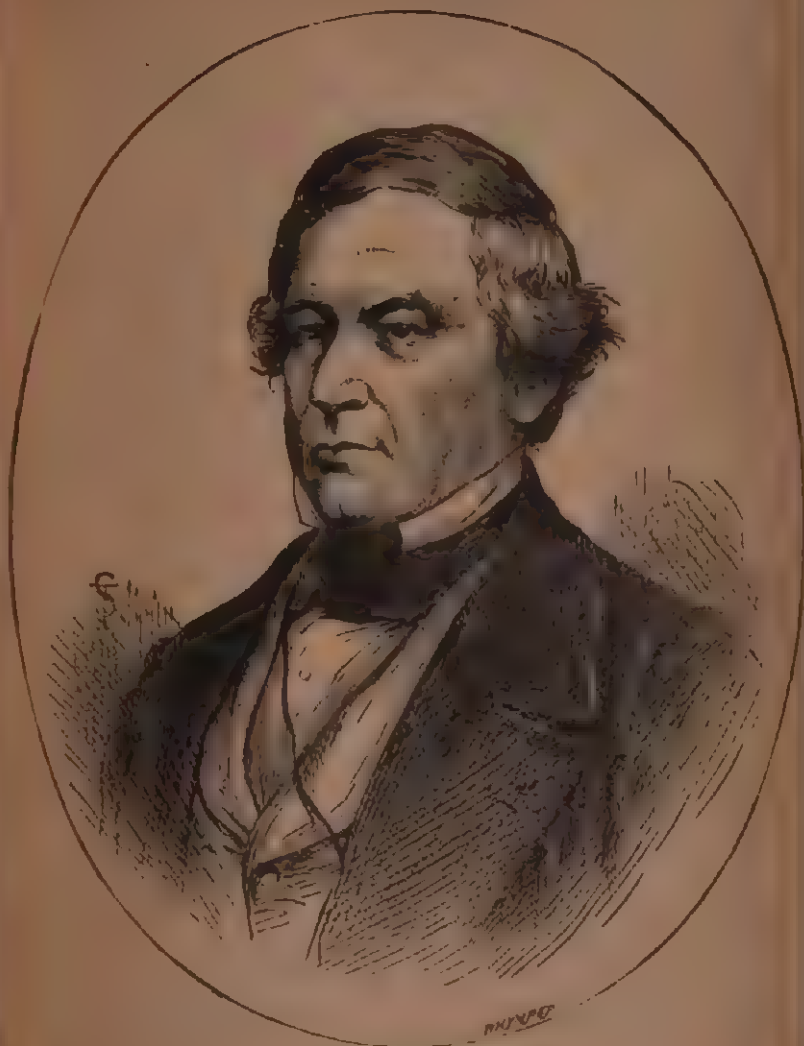


ZACHARY TAYLOR.

but had removed with his parents to Kentucky at an early age, and had grown up to manhood on the frontiers of that State. In 1808, at the age of twenty-four, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the army by President Jefferson, and had spent forty years in the military service of the country. His exploits in the Florida war and brilliant victories in Mexico had made him the most popular man in the United States, and had won him the high office of the Presidency at the hands of his grateful fellow-citizens. He was without political experience, but he was a man of pure and stainless integrity, of great firmness, a sincere patriot, and possessed of strong good sense. He had received a majority of the electoral votes of both the Northern and Southern States, and was free from party or sectional ties of any kind. His inaugural address was brief, and was confined to a statement of general principles. His cabinet was composed of the leaders of the Whig party, with John M. Clayton, of Delaware, as Secretary of State. The last Congress had created a new executive department—that of the interior—to relieve the secretary of the treasury of a part of his duties, and President Taylor was called upon to appoint the first secretary of the interior, which he did in the person of Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. The new department was charged with the management of the public lands, the Indian tribes, and the issuing of patents to inventors.

Since the announcement of the Wilmot Proviso, the agitation of the slavery question had been incessant, and had increased instead of diminishing with each succeeding year. It was one of the chief topics of discussion in the newspaper press of the country, and entered largely into every political controversy, however local or insignificant in its nature. The opponents of slavery regarded the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war as efforts to extend that institution, and were resolved to put an end to its existence at any cost. The advocates of slavery claimed that the Southern States had an equal right to the common property of the States, and were entitled to protection for their slaves in any of the Territories then owned by the States or that might afterwards be acquired by them. The Missouri Compromise forbade the existence of slavery north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and left the inhabitants south of that line free to decide upon their own institutions. The Anti-slavery party was resolved that slavery should be excluded from the territory acquired from Mexico, and in the Wilmot Proviso struck their first blow for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Upon the organization of the House President Taylor sent in his first and only message. He recognized the danger with which the sectional controversy threatened the country, expressed his views of the situation in moderate terms, and inti-



MILLARD FILLMORE.

mated that he should faithfully discharge his duties to the whole country.

About the last of June, 1850, President Taylor was stricken down with a fever, which soon terminated fatally. He died on the 9th of July amid the grief of the whole country, which felt that it had lost a faithful and upright chief magistrate. Though the successful candidate of one political party, his administration had received the earnest support of the best men of the country without regard to party, and his death was a national calamity. He had held office only sixteen months, but had shown himself equal to his difficult and delicate position.

By the terms of the Constitution the office of President devolved upon Millard Fillmore, Vice-President of the United States. On the 10th of July he took the oath of office, and at once entered upon the duties of his new position.

Mr. Fillmore was a native of New York, and was born in that State in the year 1800. He had served his State in Congress, and as governor, and was personally one of the most popular of the Presidents. The cabinet of General Taylor resigned their offices immediately after his death, and the new President filled their places by appointing a new cabinet with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State.

On the 4th of July, 1851, the corner-stone of the two new wings of the capitol was laid. Mr.

Webster delivered a speech on the occasion which was considered one of the greatest of his life. It was delivered to an immense audience, on a platform erected on the east side of the capitol. In it, among other things, he said :

“ If it shall hereafter be the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base—that its foundations shall be upturned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men—be it then known that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that this Constitution still exists unimpaired, and, with all its usefulness and glory, is growing every day stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world.”

During the fall of this year (1852) another Presidential election took place.

The Democratic party nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig party nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The Anti-slavery party put in nomination John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana. The election resulted in the choice of the candidates of the Democratic party by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. King, the Vice-President elect, did not long

survive his triumph. His health had been delicate for many years, and he was obliged to pass the winter succeeding the election in Cuba. Being unable to return home, he took the oath of office before the American consul, at Havana, on the 4th of March. He then returned to the United States, and died at his home in Alabama on the 18th of April, 1853.

The result of the election was: 251 electoral votes for Pierce and King; and 42 for Scott and Graham; by States, 27 for Pierce and King, and 4 for Scott and Graham. The States which voted for General Scott were: Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The anti-slavery ticket received no electoral vote, but out of the popular vote of nearly 3,500,000, it polled 155,825 individual votes, being little over half of what it polled at the previous election.

In October, 1852, the whole country was again thrown into mourning by the announcement of the death of Mr. Webster, the last survivor of the great senatorial "trio," Clay, Calhoun and Webster.

They were regarded as the three greatest statesmen of the country in their day. They were all men of very great ability, of very different characters of mind, as well as styles of oratory. They differed also widely on many questions of public policy. But they were all true patriots in the highest sense of that term.

ADMINISTRATION OF PIERCE.

4th of March, 1853—4th of March, 1857.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, the fourteenth President of the United States, was duly inaugurated in the 49th



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney.

General Pierce was an accomplished orator, and his inaugural address was delivered in his happiest style, in a tone of voice that was distinctly heard at a great distance. It was responded to by shouts from the surrounding multitudes.

The most important measure of Mr. Pierce's administration was the bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The region embraced in these Territories formed a part of the Louisiana purchase, and extended from the borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota to the summit of the Rocky mountains, and from the parallel of 36° 30' north latitude to the border of British America. This whole region by the terms of the Missouri Compromise had been secured to free labor by the exclusion of slavery.

The people engaged warmly in the discussion aroused by the reopening of the question of slavery in the Territories. The North resented the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in the South a large and respectable party sincerely regretted the repeal of that settlement. By the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the Thirty-third Congress assumed a grave responsibility, and opened the door to a bloody and bitter conflict in the Territories between slavery and free labor. The troubles in Kansas which followed gave rise to a new party which called itself Republican, and which was based upon an avowed hostility to the extension of slavery. A third party, called the American, or Know Nothing, also took part in the Presidential campaign of 1856, and was based upon the doctrine that the political offices of the country should be held only by persons of American birth. The Democratic party nominated James Buchanan, of

Pennsylvania, for the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican nominee for the Presidency was John C. Fremont, of California; for the Vice-Presidency William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American or Know Nothing party supported Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the Presidency, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency. The Whig party had been broken to pieces by its defeat in 1852, and had now entirely disappeared.

The canvass was unusually excited. Slavery was the principal question in dispute. Party ties had little influence upon men. The sentiment of the nation at large had been outraged by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and thousands of Democrats, desiring to rebuke their party for its course in bringing about this repeal, united with the Republican party, which declared as its leading principle that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

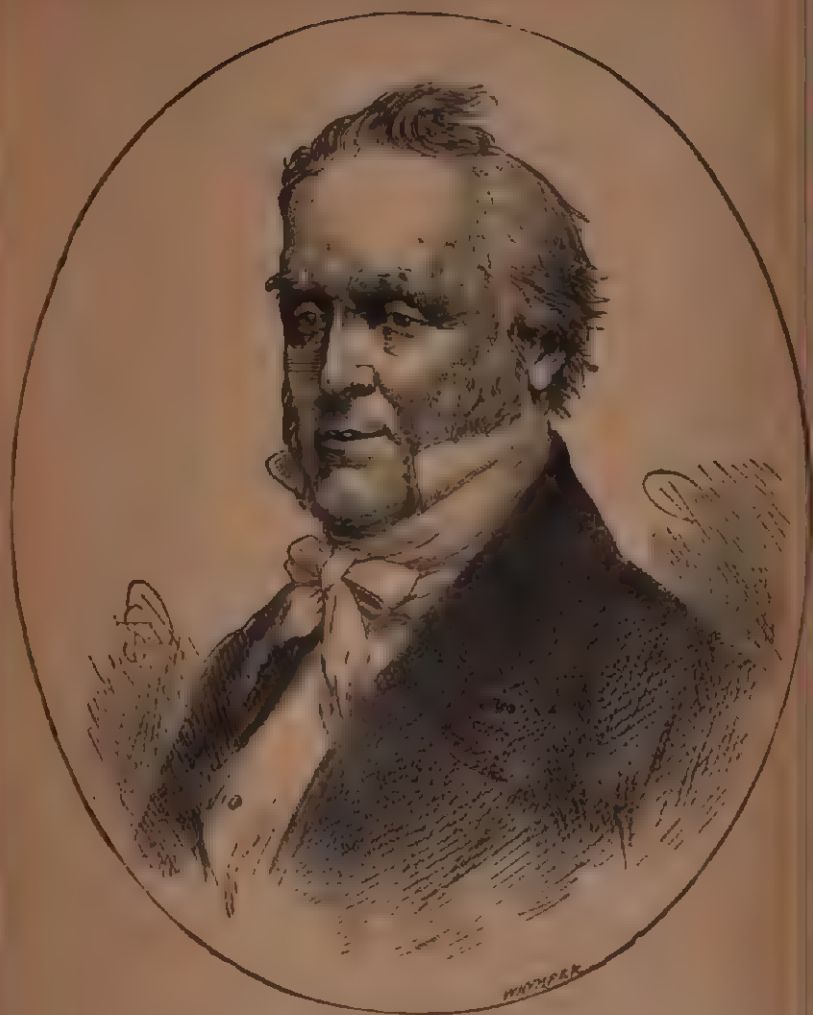
The elections resulted in the triumph of James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes; General Fremont 114, and Fillmore 8. The vote by States was: 19 for the Democratic ticket; 11 for the Republican, and 1 for the American. The nineteen States that voted for Mr. Buchanan were:

New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and California. The eleven that voted for Fremont were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The one that voted for Fillmore was Maryland.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

March 4th, 1857—March 4th, 1861.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the fifteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857, in the 66th year of his age, and was a statesman of ripe experience. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. His inaugural was conciliatory, and approbatory of the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill upon which he had been elected. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and was by profession a lawyer. He had served his State in Congress as a representative and a senator, had been minister to Russia under President Jackson, and had been a member of the Cabinet of President Polk, as Secretary of State. During the four years previous to his election to the Presidency, he had resided abroad as the Minister of the United States to Great Britain, and in that capae-



JAMES BUCHANAN.

ity had greatly added to his reputation as a statesman. The intense sectional feeling which the discussion of the slavery question had aroused had alarmed patriotic men in all parts of the Union, and it was earnestly hoped that Mr. Buchanan's administration would be able to effect a peaceful settlement of the quarrel. Mr. Buchanan selected his Cabinet from the leading men of the Democratic party. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was appointed Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of Interior; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. The two leading subjects which immediately engaged the attention of the new administration were the state of affairs in Utah on the one hand, and Kansas on the other.

On the night of the 16th of October, 1859. John Brown, who had acquired a considerable notoriety as the leader of a Free Soil company during the war in Kansas, entered the State of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, with a party of twenty-one men, and seized the United States arsenal at that place. He then sent out parties to induce the negro slaves to join him, his avowed object being to put an end to slavery in Virginia by exciting an insurrection of the slaves. Several citizens were kidnapped by

these parties, but the slaves refused to join Brown, or to take any part in the insurrection.

The effect of Brown's attempt upon the Southern people was most unfortunate. They regarded it as unanswerable evidence of the intention of the people of the North to make war upon them under the cover of the Union. The John Brown raid was the most powerful argument that had ever been placed in the hands of the disunionists, and in the alarm and excitement produced by that event, the Southern people lost sight of the fact that the great mass of the Northern people sincerely deplored and condemned the action of Brown and his supporters.

While the excitement was at its height the Presidential campaign opened in the spring of 1860. The slavery question was the chief issue in this struggle. The Convention of the Democratic party met at Charleston, in April, but being unable to effect an organization, adjourned to Baltimore, and reassembled in that city in June. The extreme Southern delegates were resolved that the convention should be committed to the protection of slavery in the Territories by Congress, and failing to control it withdrew from it in a body, and organized a separate convention, which they declared represented the Democratic party, but which, in reality, as the vote subsequently proved, represented but a minority of that party.

The original convention, after the withdrawal

of these delegates, nominated for the Presidency Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and for the Vice-Presidency Herschell V. Johnson, of Georgia. It then proceeded to adopt the platform put forward by the entire party four years before, at Cincinnati, upon the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, with this additional declaration: "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories, . . . the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

The "Seceders' Convention," as it was commonly called, also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and pledged themselves to non-interference by Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia. This party held to the doctrine that the Constitution recognized slavery as existing in the Territories, and sanctioned and protected it there, and that neither Congress nor the people of the Territories could frame any law against slavery until the admission of such Territories into the Union as States. The "Seceders' Convention" put forward as its candidate for the Presidency John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and for the Vice-Presidency Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

The Republican party took issue with both wings

of the Democratic party. Its convention was held at Chicago, Illinois, and its candidates were, for President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and for Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. The platform of principles adopted by the Republican Convention declared that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions. . . . That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

A fourth party, known as the "American or Constitutional Union Party," proclaimed as its platform the following vague sentence: "The constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." The convention of this party met at Baltimore, and nominated for the Presidency John Bell, of Tennessee, and for the Vice-Presidency Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

The contest between these parties was bitter beyond all precedent, and resulted as follows:

Popular vote for Lincoln,	1,866,452
" " Douglas,	1,375,157
" " Breckinridge,	847,953
" " Bell,	590,631

The electoral vote stood as follows: For Lincoln, 180; for Breckinridge, 72; for Bell, 39; for Douglas, 12.

Mr. Lincoln was thus elected by a plurality of the popular vote, which secured for him the electoral votes of eighteen States. These States were entirely north of the sectional line, and he received not a single electoral vote from a Southern State. The States which cast their electoral votes for Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas, were entirely slaveholding. The division thus made was alarming. It was the first time in the history of the republic that a President had been elected by the votes of a single section of the Union.

The eighteen States that voted for Mr. Lincoln, under the plurality count of the popular vote, were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon. The eleven that voted for Mr. Breckinridge were: Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas. The three that so voted for Mr. Bell were: Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and the one that so voted for Mr. Douglas was Missouri. Mr. Lincoln did not receive the majority of the popular vote in but sixteen of the thirty-three States then constituting the Union; so he had been constitutionally elected, without having received a majority of the popular vote of the States or of the people.

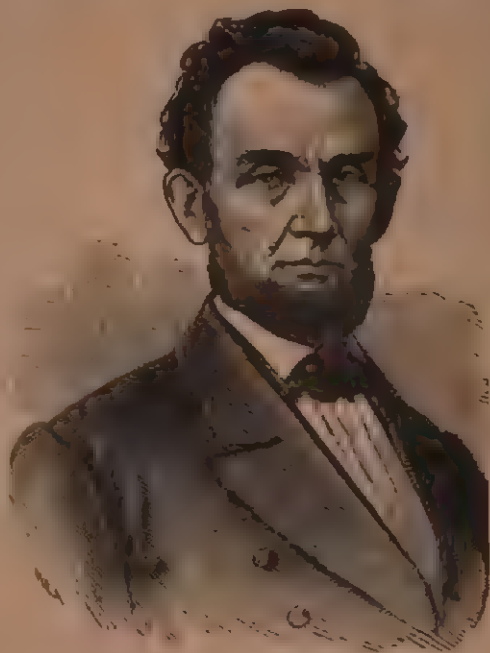
ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 4th, 1861—April 15th, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the sixteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1861. As it was feared that an attempt would be made to prevent the inauguration, the city was held by a strong body of regular troops, under General Scott, and the President elect was escorted from his hotel to the capitol by a military force. No effort was made to interfere with the ceremonies, and the inauguration passed off quietly.

The new President was in his fifty-third year, and was a native of Kentucky. When he was but eight years old his father removed to Indiana, and the boyhood of the future President was spent in hard labor upon the farm. Until he reached manhood he continued to lead this life, and during this entire period attended school for only a year. At the age of twenty-one he removed to Illinois, where he began life as a storekeeper. Being anxious to rise above his humble position, he determined to study law. He was too poor to buy the necessary books, and so borrowed them from a neighboring lawyer, read them at night, and returned them in the morning. His genial character, great good nature, and love of humor, won him

the friendship of the people among whom he resided, and they elected him to the lower house of the legislature of Illinois. He now abandoned his mercantile pursuits, and began the practice of the law, and was subsequently elected a representative



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

to Congress from the Springfield district. He took an active part in the politics of his State, and in 1858 was the candidate of the Republican party for United States senator. In this capacity he engaged in a series of debates in various parts of the

State with Senator Douglas, the Democratic candidate for re-election to the same position. This debate was remarkable for its brilliancy and intellectual vigor, and brought him prominently before the whole country, and opened the way to his nomination for the Presidency. In person he was tall and ungainly, and in manner he was rough and awkward, little versed in the refinements of society. He was a man, however, of great natural vigor of intellect, and was possessed of a fund of strong common sense, which enabled him to see at a glance through the shams by which he was surrounded, and to pursue his own aims with singleness of heart and directness of purpose. He had sprung from the ranks of the people, and he was never false to them. He was a simple, unaffected, kind-hearted man; anxious to do his duty to the whole country; domestic in his tastes and habits; and incorruptible in every relation of life. He was fond of humor, and overflowed with it; finding in his "little stories" the only relaxation he ever sought from the heavy cares of the trying position upon which he was now entering. He selected his cabinet from the leading men of the Republican party, and placed William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the

Interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General.

The Great Civil War was the all-important event of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

In 1864 the next Presidential election was held. The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore, June 7, and adopted a platform declaring war upon slavery, and demanding that no terms but unconditional surrender should be given to the rebellious States. It nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The latter was a United States Senator when his State allied itself to the Confederacy. He, however, continued to hold his seat, and was the only Senator from any of the States, who did so after the withdrawal of their States from the Federal Union.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago August 29, and nominated for the Presidency General George B. McClellan, of the Federal army, and for the Vice-Presidency, George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. The result was Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson carried the electoral votes of every State except three, to wit: New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky; of the popular vote the Democratic ticket received 1,802,237, against 2,213,665 cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Abraham Lincoln having been duly elected was

inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1865. On the night of April 14th, President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre, in Washington City, by John Wilkes Booth.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

15th of April, 1865—4th of March, 1869.

Upon the death of Mr. Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, by the terms of the Constitution, became President of the United States. He took the oath of office on the 15th of April, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. His first act was to retain all the members of the Cabinet appointed by Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Johnson was a native of North Carolina, having been born in Raleigh, on the 29th of December, 1808. At the age of ten he was bound as an apprentice to a tailor of that city. He was at this time unable to read or write. Some years later, being determined to acquire an education, he learned the alphabet from a fellow-workman, and a friend taught him spelling. He was soon able to read, and pursued his studies steadily, working ten or twelve hours a day at his trade, and studying two or three more. In 1826 he removed to Greenville, Tennessee. He was subsequently chosen alderman of his town, and with this election entered upon his political career. Studying law he abandoned tailoring, and devoted himself to legal pursuits and politics. He was



ANDREW JOHNSON.

successively chosen Mayor, Member of the Legislature, Presidential elector, and State Senator. He was twice elected Governor of Tennessee, and three times a Senator of the United States from that State. Upon the secession of Tennessee from the Union, he refused to relinquish his seat in the Senate, and remained faithful to the cause of the Union throughout the war, winning considerable reputation during the struggle by his services in behalf of the national cause. He was an earnest, honest-hearted man, who sincerely desired to do his duty to the country. His mistakes were due to his temperament, and proceeded from no desire to serve his own interests or those of any party. In his public life he was incorruptible. A man of ardent nature, strong convictions, and indomitable will, it was not possible that he should avoid errors, or fail to stir up a warm and determined opposition to his policy.

The first duty devolving upon the new administration was the disbanding of the army, which at the close of the war numbered over a million of men. It was prophesied by foreign nations and feared by many persons at home, that the sudden return of such a large body of men to the pursuits of civil life would be attended with serious evils, but both the Union and the Confederate soldiers went back quietly and readily to their old avocations. Thus did these citizen-soldiers give to the world a splendid exhibition of the triumph of law

and order in a free country, and a proof of the stability of our institutions.

The restoration of the Southern States to their places in the Union was the most important work of Mr. Johnson's administration.

In the fall of 1868 another Presidential election was held. The Republican party nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic party nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Presidency, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency. The election resulted in the choice of General Grant by a popular vote of 2,985,031 to 2,648,830 votes cast for Mr. Seymour. In the electoral college Grant received 217 votes and Seymour 77. The States of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were not allowed to take part in this election, being still out of the Union.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

4th of March, 1869—4th of March, 1877.

Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington with imposing ceremonies on the 4th of March, 1869. He was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. His father was a tanner, and wished him to follow his trade, but the boy had more ambitious hopes, and at the age of seven-

teen a friend secured for him an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he was educated. Upon graduating he entered the army. Two years later he was sent to Mexico, and served through the war with that country with distinc-



ULYSSES S. GRANT

tion. He was specially noticed by his commanders, and was promoted for gallant conduct. Soon after the close of the war he resigned his commission, and remained in civil life and obscurity until the breaking out of the civil war, when he volun-

teered his services, and was commissioned by Governor Yates Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois regiment. He was soon made a Brigadier-General, and fought his first battle at Belmont. His subsequent career has been related in all histories of the Great Civil War. He selected the members of his Cabinet more because of his personal friendship for them than for their weight and influence in the party that had elected him.

General Grant was the fifth President whose military achievements had contributed more to his election to this high office than any services rendered in the civil departments of the government. His inaugural, delivered before an immense crowd of enthusiastic admirers, on the east portico of the capitol, was brief and pointed. He was no orator, and his address on this occasion was rehearsed from a manuscript before him. It might be characterized as a good specimen of the "*multum in parvo*." He said "he should have no policy of his own, except to carry out the will of the people, as expressed by the legislative department, and expounded by the judiciary. Laws," said he, "are to govern all alike, those opposed, as well as those who favor them. I know of no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution." The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

His cabinet consisted at first of Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander

T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; John D. Rawlins, of Illinois, who had been his chief of staff from the beginning of the great war until its termination, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Several changes in the cabinet were afterwards made, the most notable of which were George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury, instead of Alexander T. Stewart, the famous merchant of New York. Soon after the confirmation of the latter by the Senate, it was ascertained that he was ineligible under the law, because of his being engaged in commerce. Mr. Washburne also gave up his place to accept the position of Minister to France, and the vacant Secretaryship of the State Department was given to Hamilton Fish of New York.

The President on the 20th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation announcing that the Fifteenth Amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, and therefore declared it to be part of the Constitution of the United States.

In the fall of 1872, another presidential election occurred. The canvass was marked by the most intense partisan bitterness. The Republican party renominated General Grant for the presidency, and

supported Henry Wilson for the vice-presidency. The measures of the administration had arrayed a large number of Republicans against it. These now organized themselves as the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for the presidency, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for the vice-presidency. The Democratic party made no nominations, and its convention indorsed the candidates of the Liberal Republican party. The election resulted in the triumph of the Republican candidates by overwhelming majorities.

The elections were scarcely over when the country was saddened by the death of Horace Greeley. He had been one of the founders of the Republican party, and had been closely identified with the political history of the country for over thirty years. He was the "Founder of the New York *Tribune*," and had done good service with his journal in behalf of the cause he believed to be founded in right. He was a man of simple and childlike character, utterly unaffected, and generous to a fault. In his manner and dress he was eccentric, but nature had made him a true gentleman at heart. His intellectual ability was conceded by all. His experience in public life and his natural disposition induced him to favor a policy of conciliation in the settlement of the reconstruction question, and, influenced by these convictions, he signed the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis and secured the release of the fallen leader of the South from his

imprisonment. This act cost him a large part of his popularity in the North. He accepted the presidential nomination of the Liberal party in the belief that his election would aid in bringing about a better state of feeling between the North and the South. He was attacked by his political opponents with a bitterness which caused him much suffering, and many of his old friends deserted him and joined in the warfare upon him. Just before the close of the canvass, his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, died, and his grief for her and the excitement caused by the political contest broke him down and unsettled his mind. He was conveyed by his friends to a private asylum, where he died on the 29th of November, 1872, in the sixty-second year of his age. The result of the election by States was 286 electoral votes for Grant, for President, 286 for Wilson, for Vice-President, and 47 for B. Gratz Brown, for Vice-President.

Mr. Greeley having died soon after the election, and before the meeting of the Electoral Colleges, the electoral votes that he carried at the popular election (only 65) were cast in the colleges for a number of persons whose names had never been connected with the office.

The votes by States for Grant were Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New

Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Vermont, Wisconsin—29. Those casting electoral votes against Grant were Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas—6. The electoral votes of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted.

On the 4th day of July, 1876, the United States of America completed the one hundredth year of their existence as an independent nation. The day was celebrated with imposing ceremonies and with the most patriotic enthusiasm in all parts of the Union. The celebrations began on the night of the 3d of July, and were kept up until midnight on the 4th. Each of the great cities of the Union vied with the others in the splendor and completeness of its rejoicings; but the most interesting of all the celebrations was naturally that which was held at Philadelphia, in which city the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

In the summer of 1876 the various political parties met in their respective conventions to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, which officers were to be chosen at the general election in November. The Republican Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, and resulted in the nomination of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and of William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-

President. The Democratic Convention was held at St. Louis on the 27th of June, and nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for the Presidency, and Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. A third Convention, representing the Independent Greenback party, met at Indianapolis on the 18th of May, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

The campaign which followed these nominations was one of intense bitterness, and was in many respects the most remarkable the country has ever witnessed. A most discreditable feature of it was the appearance of Mr. Chandler, the Secretary of the Interior, as the chief manager of the Republican party. It was the first time in the history of the country that a member of the President's Cabinet had ever held so questionable a position; the first time that the patronage of the government had ever been used so openly in behalf of a political party. The old wounds of the civil war were torn open; the people of the South were denounced as traitors, ready to plunge the country into a new war upon the slightest pretext, and the people of the North were urged to treat them as enemies, and save the government from the hands of traitors. This method of conducting the campaign received the cordial indorsement of the leaders of the Republican party.

The election was held on the 7th of November.
The popular vote was as follows :

For Samuel J. Tilden.....	4,284,265
" Rutherford B. Hayes.....	4,033,295
" Peter Cooper.....	81,737

Tilden thus received a popular majority of 250,-
970 votes over Hayes, and a majority of 169,233
votes over both Hayes and Cooper.

In the Electoral Colleges 185 votes were necessary to a choice. Of this number Governor Tilden received 184, and Governor Hayes 163 undisputed votes. The votes of the States of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, were claimed by both parties for their respective candidates. The revision of the vote in Florida and Louisiana had been confided, since the reorganization of those States, to Returning Boards, which bodies had power to manipulate the votes of the people of their respective States to an extent sufficient to make the result what they pleased. In consequence of this, it had several times happened in Louisiana that the Returning Board had, after canvassing the vote, announced a result entirely at variance with the vote at the polls. In the present case the Florida and Louisiana Returning Boards were Republican in their composition. In the Florida Board there was one Democratic member, but in the Louisiana Board the place of the Democratic member was vacant, and the board refused to fill the vacancy, leaving it entirely Republican.

It was evident from the first that each of these boards would return the vote of its respective State

for the Republican candidates, and it was feared that this interference with the will of the people would be productive of trouble. Immediately after the election, thereof, President Grant appointed a number of prominent Republicans to proceed to Florida and Louisiana to watch the counting of the votes of those States; and a number of prominent Democrats repaired to Tallahassee and New Orleans for the same purpose. These gentlemen had no official character, and were without power to interfere in any way with the counting of the vote. It was hoped, however, that their presence as witnesses would act as a check upon the boards, and thus a fair count be secured. This hope was not destined to be realized. The Louisiana Board in particular was composed of reckless and disreputable men, and, in spite of the presence of the gentlemen referred to, some of the most prominent of whom gave open encouragement to the course of the board, returned the vote of the State for Hayes, thus setting aside the popular majority at the polls of over 10,000 for the Democratic candidates. A similar course was pursued in Florida, which State was also returned for Hayes.

It was the general conviction of the country that both of those States had been fairly carried by the Democratic party, and many earnest Republicans gave open expression to this belief. The action of the Return Boards, however, though so evidently in defiance of the will of the people, was upheld by the Republican party, which claimed that, as such action was not contrary to the laws of Florida and Louisiana, it must stand; that neither Congress nor any other body had power to go behind the certificate of the electoral vote of the State,

signed by the State officials; and that when such certificates were presented to the two Houses of Congress, at the counting of the electoral votes of the States, they must be accepted without question, and the electoral votes of Florida and Louisiana be counted for Hayes. They declared that the States had power to make any laws they might see fit for the counting of their popular vote, and that for Congress to seek to interfere with such laws would be to illegally trespass upon the reserved rights of the States. They held, therefore, that as the action of the Return Boards was within the letter of the laws of their respective States, Florida and Louisiana must be counted for Hayes; and in order to maintain this position the Republican party was compelled to assume the strange and inconsistent role of the champion of States' Rights, the doctrine against which it had waged a relentless war for more than twenty years. The Democrats on the other hand maintained that the popular majority for Tilden in Florida and Louisiana was too evident to be doubted, being simply overwhelming in the latter State, and that the Return Boards had overcome these majorities only by a fraudulent use of their power in throwing out Democratic votes to an extent sufficient to give Florida and Louisiana to the Republicans. They declared, moreover, that, as the Louisiana Board had refused to appoint a Democratic member to the vacancy in that body, as required by the law under which they acted, their action was illegal. They held that, as both Florida and Louisiana had been wrongfully and fraudulently given to the Republicans by the Return Boards, in defiance of the will of the people of those States, as expressed at the polls, the

electoral votes of both of those States should not be counted by Congress. Such action on the part of Congress would have resulted in a declaration by that body that there had been no popular choice of a President and Vice-President, and the election of the President would have devolved upon the House of Representatives, and the choice of the Vice-President upon the Senate, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The Democrats, therefore, declared that they would insist upon the rejection of the votes of Florida and Louisiana, upon the ground of fraud on the part of the Return Boards; and the Republicans announced their decision to insist upon the counting of the votes of those States as certified by the State officials. Each party denounced the other with great bitterness; the country was deeply agitated, and threats of armed resistance were freely indulged in by both parties. The crisis was the most alarming that had threatened the country since the outbreak of the civil war.

Congress met on the 4th of December, 1876. The House of Representatives was organized by the Democratic majority by the election of Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, as Speaker. Immediately upon the organization of Congress the question of the manner of counting the electoral votes of the States came up in that body. The Republican minority in the Senate claimed that, by the terms of the Constitution, the Vice-President was compelled to open the certificates of the States in the presence of the two Houses of Congress, in joint convention, and declare the result, the two Houses being present merely as witnesses of the count by the Vice-President. With this

view the Republicans in the lower House agreed. The Democrats in both Houses maintained that while the Constitution required the Vice-President to open the certificates and count the electoral votes, the two Houses of Congress were made the judges of the legality of those certificates, and that in the case of the presentation of two certificates from the same State, the two Houses were the rightful judges of which was the proper one; and that in the event of a failure of the two Houses to agree in such a decision, the vote of such State must be rejected. In support of this view they brought forward the Twenty-second Joint Rule of Congress, adopted February 6th, 1865, by a Republican Congress, and under which the counting of the electoral vote in 1865, 1869 and 1873 had been conducted. This rule was designed to secure a Republican triumph at the time of its passage, but in January, 1876, when it was evident that, the House of Representatives having become Democratic, the rule would be used by the Democrats for their own advantage, the Senate, still Republican, passed a concurrent resolution adopting the joint rules of the previous session of Congress as the joint rules for that session, "excepting the Twenty-second Joint Rule." The House failed to act upon the resolution. At the opening of the session in December, 1876, the President of the Senate ruled that there were no joint rules in operation. The Speaker of the House, on the other hand, ruled that the joint rules previously existing still existed. Thus the issue between the two Houses was distinctly made. The House declared its intention of insisting upon the right secured to it by the Twenty-second Joint Rule of objecting to the vote of a State, and that

it would withdraw from the joint convention if this right was denied it by the Senate. The Senate declared that, in case of such withdrawal by the House, the count would be continued by the Senate, and the result proclaimed by the Vice-President. The House, on the other hand, announced its intention of acting in such a case as if there had been no choice by the electoral vote; it would at once proceed to elect the President as required by the Constitution. Each House was firm in its resolution, and the breach between them widened daily. Angry speeches and threats were made by members of Congress, and the general alarm and uneasiness deepened throughout the country. The time appointed by the Constitution for counting the electoral vote was rapidly drawing nigh, and it seemed likely that an era of anarchy was about to ensue. Each House would act for itself; two Presidents would be declared elected. There was no doubt that President Grant would sustain the choice of the Senate with the army. In such an event civil war was inevitable.

"The danger was so great that patriotic men of both parties in Congress set to work to devise some means of settlement. It was plain that this could be accomplished only by a compromise. A conference committee was appointed by each House, which committee, after a long deliberation, reported to the two Houses of Congress a bill providing for the appointment of a commission, to consist of fifteen members. Five of these were to be appointed by the Senate and five by the House of Representatives; the remaining five were to be chosen from the Justices of the Supreme Court. Four of the justices were designated by the bill;

the fifth was to be chosen by the justices named in the bill. The bill provided for the meeting of the two Houses of Congress in joint convention on the first Thursday in February. The votes were to be opened by the Vice-President and counted by tellers appointed for the purpose. Each House was to have the right to object to the vote of a State, but in cases where only one certificate was presented the objection must be sustained by the affirmative vote of both Houses. If not so sustained, the objection must fall and the vote be counted. Section 2 of the bill provided 'That if more than one return, or paper purporting to be a return from a State, shall have been received by the President of the Senate purporting to be the certificates of electoral votes given at the last preceding election for President and Vice-President in such State (unless they shall be duplicates of the same return), all such returns and papers shall be opened by him in the presence of the two Houses when met as aforesaid, and read by the tellers, and all such returns and papers shall thereupon be submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State,' of the commission appointed by the bill. The decision of the commission, with the reasons therefor, was to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress. Should objection be made by five senators and five representatives to the report of the commission, the two Houses were to separate and discuss the said objections, the time allowed for debate being limited by the bill; but unless both Houses should agree to sustain the objections, the decision of the commission should stand.

"This plan met with considerable favor from the

conservative element of both Houses, but was strongly opposed by the more ultra of both parties. It was debated at length and with great vigor. It passed the Senate on the 25th of January, 1877, by a vote of 47 yeas and 17 nays, ten senators not voting. The vote in the House was taken the next day, and stood, yeas, 191; nays, 86; fourteen representatives not voting. The vote in the Senate was divided as follows: *Yeas*—Republicans, 21; Democrats, 46. *Nays*—Republicans, 16; Democrats, 1. In the House it stood: *Yeas*—Democrats, 159; Republicans, 32. *Nays*—Democrats, 18; Republicans, 68.

"The members of the commission were promptly appointed. They were as follows: Justices Clifford, Strong, Miller, Field and Bradley, of the Supreme Court; Senators Edmunds, Morton, Frelighuysen, Thurman and Bayard; and Representatives Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield and Hoar.

"The two Houses of Congress met in joint convention on the 1st of February, 1877, and began the counting of the electoral vote. When the vote of Florida was reached, three certificates were presented and referred to the Electoral Commission. This body, upon hearing the arguments of the counsel of the Democratic and Republican parties, decided that it had no power to go behind the action of the Return Board, and that the certificate of that body giving the vote of that State to Hayes must be accepted by the two Houses of Congress. The vote by which this decision was reached stood eight (all Republicans) in favor of it, and seven (all Democrats) against it. The party line appearing thus so sharply in the commission mortified and disgusted the whole country.

which had looked to the commission for a decision that should be beyond question. A similar conclusion was come to in the case of Louisiana.

"The final result was reached at ten minutes after four o'clock on the morning of the 2d of March, 1877, and, according to that infamous decision, Hayes and Wheeler received 185 votes, and Tilden and Hendricks 184 votes. The States that voted for Hayes and Wheeler were California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont and Wisconsin; and these which voted for Tilden and Hendricks were Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

"The country had watched the proceedings of the Electoral Commission with the deepest interest, and with feelings of pain and disgust at the strong partisan bias which marked all of its decisions. For a while there was a disposition to reject its award; but the conservative sentiment of the nation prevailed, and it was finally resolved to accept the decision as the only escape from anarchy and civil war. The sentiment of the best element of the country was thus summed up by a leading journal: 'The Electoral Commission has completed its work, and we do not believe there is one candid and competent person outside of the heated circle of partisans of the "successful" party who will hesitate, after a careful examination of its formal judgments submitted to Congress, to say that its official record

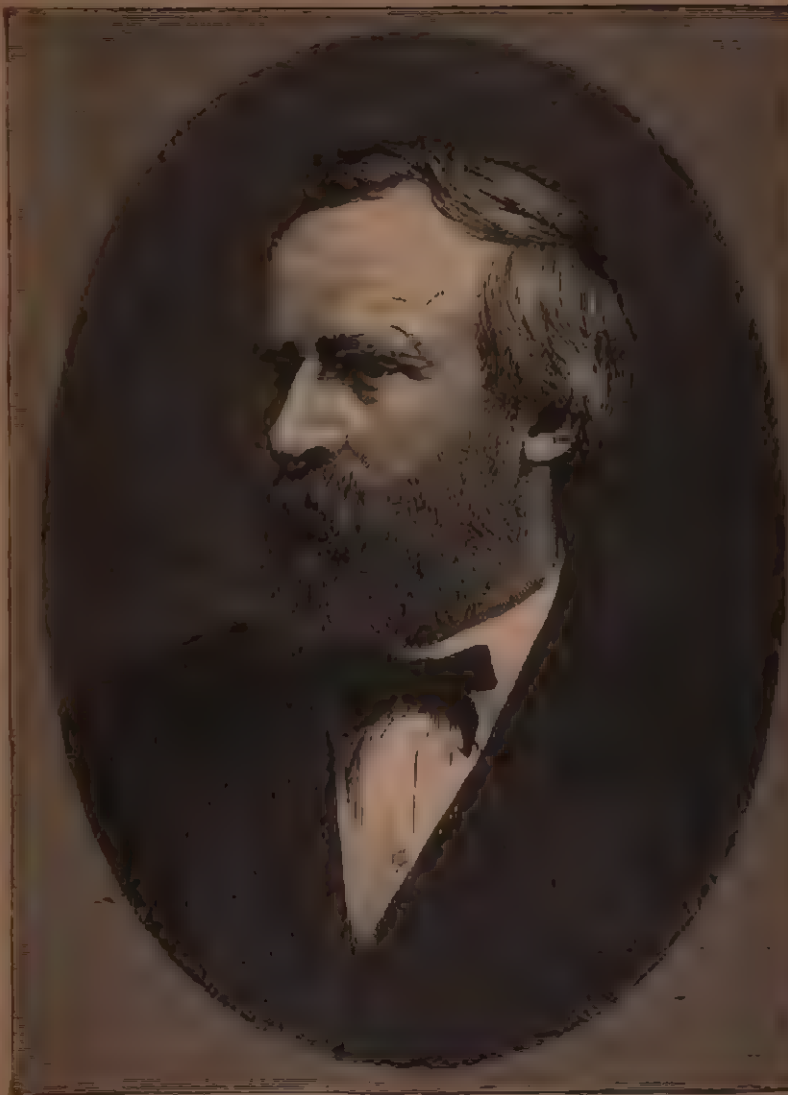
disgraces every member of the majority of that body. The task which this majority had to perform as a partisan body was a difficult one, and the necessity of presenting reasons, as judges, for action taken simply as politicians, involved its members in a maze of contradictory opinions to justify contradictory judgments. In the Florida case it compelled them to hold that evidence to prove the ineligibility of an elector was admissible, and, in that case, the eligibility of Humphreys was decided on its merits. In the Louisiana case, on the other hand, it compelled them to declare that all evidence as to the eligibility of two of the Hayes electors was *aliunde*, and that their eligibility was a presumption of law. In the Oregon case, again, they were forced to take evidence touching the ineligibility of Watts, and a decision was made on the point pronounced immaterial in the Louisiana case, the court actually going so far as to show what course of election, resignation, and reappointment it was necessary for Watts to go through with in order to make himself eligible! In the Florida case, the governor's false certificate, based on what the courts of the State had declared a false canvass, was pronounced final and unassailable. In the Oregon case, the certificate of the governor, based on a true canvass and on his interpretation of the laws of the State affecting it, was held to be void and of no effect. In the Louisiana case it was held that the commission could not inquire whether the Returning Board was legally constituted, or had obeyed the statute creating it, nor yet whether the persons to whom the governor gave certificates received a majority of the votes cast in the State or not. But in the Oregon case it was decided that the act of Governor Grover, "in

giving to E. A. Cronin a certificate of his election, though he received a thousand votes less than Watts, on the ground that the latter was ineligible, was without authority of law, and is therefore vacant." This establishes in effect the principle—if such it can be called—that, while a governor's certificate is not good against a Republican elector in Oregon, who has one thousand votes and the equities in his favor, a governor's certificate is valid against a Democratic elector in Louisiana who has eight thousand votes and the equities in his favor. The many absurdities and inconsistencies put forward by the commission to serve as legal excuses for its partisan action come to their zenith and consummation in the South Carolina decision and the resolutions upon which it is based. Taken all in all, it is not too much to say that no such hasty and ill-digested opinions were ever before offered by a set of judges in defence of a series of dishonest decrees."

ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

4th of March, 1877—4th of March, 1881.

Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on Monday, March 5th, 1877. As the 4th of March fell on Sunday, the President-elect simply took the oath of office on that day. The inaugural ceremonies were carried out on the 5th at the



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

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capitol with the usual pomp and parade, and in the presence of an enormous multitude of citizens and visiting military organizations from all parts of the country. After the customary reception by the Senate, the new President was escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where he delivered his inaugural address to the assembled multitude, after which the oath of office was publicly administered to him by Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President was a native of Ohio, having been born at Delaware, in that State, on the 4th of October, 1822. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, and obtained his professional education at the law school, Cambridge, Mass. He began the practice of law at Cincinnati in 1856. Soon after the opening of the war he enlisted in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, with which regiment he served as major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. He led his regiment, which formed a part of General Reno's division, at the battle of South Mountain, in September, 1862, and was severely wounded in the arm in that engagement. In the fall of 1862 he was made colonel of the regiment, and in 1864 was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and was brevetted major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek." At the time of this last promotion he was in command of a division. He served

until the close of the war, receiving four wounds and having five horses shot under him during his military career. In the fall of 1864 he was elected to Congress, and was returned a second time in 1866. In 1867, before the expiration of his Congressional term, he was elected Governor of Ohio, and was re-elected to that office in 1869, being each time the candidate of the Republican party. In 1870 General Hayes was again elected to Congress, and in 1874 was nominated for a third term as Governor of Ohio. His opponent was Governor William Allen, one of the most popular of the Democratic leaders of Ohio. General Hayes was elected by a handsome majority. He resigned this office in March, 1877, to enter upon his new duties as President of the United States.

President Hayes selected as his cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. The cabinet was of a composite character and generally regarded as a very conservative one. Mr. Hayes, early in his administration, adopted several reforms in the civil service, one of which was not to allow Federal office-holders to take active part in elections.

Few Presidents were ever so embarrassed upon entering on the duties of the office as he was. At this time the States of South Carolina and Louisiana were in a *quasi* civil war. Two Governors in each were claiming to be entitled to the executive chair. Two legislatures in each were also claiming to be rightfully entitled to the law-making power.

Mr. Hayes displayed the most consummate skill in the conduct and settlement of these most embarrassing questions. In the summer of 1880 the various political parties of the country met in Convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. The Republican Convention met in Chicago on the 2d of June, and nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. (The platform and all the ballots of this convention will be found in another part of this work.) The Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati, on the 22d of June, and nominated Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Greenback Convention met at Chicago, on the 9th of June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

The election was held on the 2d of November, and resulted in the choice of General James A.

Garfield, who received 214 electoral votes to 155 electoral votes cast for General Hancock.

The States that voted for Garfield and Arthur were: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin; and those that voted for Hancock and English were: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

The State of California was divided. She cast one vote for Garfield and Arthur, and five for Hancock and English.

The last days of Mr. Hayes' administration were the happiest he spent in the White House. At the close of his term, he retired to his residence at Fremont, Ohio, followed by the good will of millions of his fellow-citizens.

ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD.

4th of March, 1881—19th of September, 1881.

On Friday, March 4th, 1881, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence, and were participated in by numerous military and civic organizations, and by thousands of citizens from all parts of the country. After the

new Vice-President had taken the oath of office, President-elect Garfield was formally received by the Senate, and escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where, in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens and soldiery, he delivered



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

an able and eloquent inaugural address, and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President had been long and favorably

known to his countrymen. He was in his fiftieth year, and in vigorous health. A man of commanding presence, he was dignified and courteous in his demeanor, accessible to the humblest citizen, and deservedly popular with men of all parties. Born a poor boy, without influential friends, he had by his own efforts secured a thorough collegiate education, and had carefully fitted himself for the arduous duties he was now called upon to discharge. Entering the army at the outbreak of the civil war, he had won a brilliant reputation as a soldier, and been promoted to the rank of Major-General of volunteers. Elected to Congress from Ohio, in 1862, he had entered the House of Representatives in December, 1863, and had seen almost eighteen years of constant service in that body, in which he had long ranked as one of the most brilliant and trusted leaders of the Republican party. Early in 1880 he had been chosen a United States Senator from Ohio, but had been prevented from taking his seat in the Senate by his election to the Presidency. Immediately after his inauguration the names of the new cabinet were sent to the Senate, and were confirmed without opposition. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, was Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of ex-President Abraham Lincoln, was Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, was Secretary of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, was Sec-

retary of the Interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, was Postmaster-General, and Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, was Attorney-General.

The Cabinet was regarded, generally, as one very judiciously selected, being all men of marked ability, though of somewhat different shades of opinion in the Republican party.

As the time wore on, President Garfield gained steadily in the esteem of his countrymen. His purpose to give to the nation a fair and just administration of the government was every day more apparent, and his high and noble qualities became more conspicuous. Men began to feel for the first time in many years that the Executive chair was occupied by a President capable of conceiving a pure and noble standard of duty, and possessed of the firmness and strength of will necessary to carry it into execution. The country was prosperous, and there was every reason to expect a continuance of the general happiness.

On the morning of July 2d, President Garfield, accompanied by a distinguished party, including several members of the Cabinet, proceeded to the Baltimore and Potomac depot, in Washington, to take the cars for Long Branch. The President arrived in company with Secretary Blaine. They left the President's carriage together, and walked arm-in-arm into the depot. In passing through the ladies' waiting-room, the President was fired at twice by a man named Charles J. Guiteau. The

first shot inflicted a slight wound in the President's right arm, and the second a terrible wound in the right side of his back, between the hip and the kidney. The President fell heavily to the floor, and the assassin was secured as he was seeking to make his escape from the building.

The whole city was thrown into the greatest consternation and agitation when swift-winged rumor bore the news through every street and avenue, that the President had been assassinated! The wires carried the same consternation throughout the length and breadth of the Union, as well as to foreign nations.

In the meantime, the suffering President received every attention that could be given. He was borne as soon as possible to the Executive mansion, where many eminent surgeons of the country were soon summoned to his bedside; but no permanent relief was given. The ball was not found, and he continued to suffer and languish for weeks. His physicians thought it best to remove him to Long Branch. Suitable and comfortable arrangements were made for his travel from the White House to Franklyn Cottage, at Elberon, at that place, and his journey was successfully performed on the 6th of September.

Here he continued to languish, with intervals of hopeful improvement until he suddenly grew worse on the 18th, and finally expired quietly at 10.35 P. M., on the 19th of September.

His remains were taken to Washington and lay in state in the rotunda of the capitol, after which they were conveyed to Cleveland, Ohio, and there interred with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies. Never before was there such universal and unfeigned sorrow over the death of any public official.

On the night of the death of the President at Elberon, the members of the Cabinet present joined in sending the following telegram to Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, who was at that time in the city of New York :

"It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield, and to advise you to take the oath of office without delay."

Mr. Arthur, as advised by Mr. Garfield's Cabinet, immediately took the oath of office before Judge Brady, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

On the 22d of September President Arthur again took the oath of office, this time at the hands of the Chief-Justice of the United States, and was quietly inaugurated in the Vice-President's room, in the Capitol at Washington, delivering upon this occasion a brief inaugural address.

President Arthur entered quietly upon the duties of his administration, and his first acts were satisfactory to a majority of his countrymen. As he had been the leader of "the Stalwart" section of the Republican party, it was felt by the mem-

bers of the Cabinet of the late President that he should be free to choose his own advisers. Therefore, immediately upon his accession to the Executive chair, Mr. Blaine and his colleagues tendered



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

him their resignations. They were requested, however, by the new President to retain their offices until he could find suitable successors to

them. To this they agreed, but before the year was out several important changes had been made in the Cabinet. The principal of these were the substitution of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, and the appointment of Judge Charles J. Folger, of Ohio, to the Treasury Department.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to cause the indictment of Charles J. Guiteau for the murder of President Garfield. After some delay the trial of the assassin began on the 14th of November. It ended on the 25th of January, 1882, in the conviction of Guiteau for the murder of the late President.

The execution took place in the District jail on the 30th of June, 1882, and was witnessed by about 200 people, many of whom were representatives of the press.

The administration of President Arthur has resulted in the prosperity of the whole country, and been satisfactory to the mass of the people.

Appendix A.

VOTE OF EACH STATE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

ALABAMA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Autauga,	974	978	Fayette,	202	631
Baldwin,	663	767	Franklin,	110	655
Barbour,	1200	2773	Geneva,	6	490
Bibb,	106	737	Greene,	1463	943
Blount,	260	1318	Hale,	1549	1736
Bullock,	656	124	Henry,	273	1720
Butler,	861	2026	Jackson,	590	2059
Calhoun,	509	1984	Jefferson,	781	1712
Chambers,	884	1918	Lauderdale,	1228	1743
Cherokee,	180	1390	Lamar,	172	856
Chilton,	134	714	Lawrence,	1414	1555
Chocktaw,	520	1050	Lee,	1569	1943
Clarke,	740	1173	Limestone,	1623	1690
Clay,	52	1002	Lowndes,	2399	1414
Cleburne,	117	904	Macon,	191	538
Coffee,	63	764	Madison,	3062	2808
Colbert,	1072	1237	Marengo,	1825	2350
Conecuh,	843	1154	Marion,	174	863
Coosa,	812	1296	Marshall,	83	930
Covington,	64	879	Mobile,	3239	3784
Crenshaw,	231	1774	Monroe,	821	1087
Cullman,	163	336	Montgomery,	5469	2971
Dale,	284	1224	Morgan,	644	1420
Dallas,	1108	1791	Perry,	2082	2278
DeKalb,	252	759	Pickens,	214	1562
Elmore,	1380	1467	Pike,	741	2327
Escambia,	285	812	Randolph,	486	832
Etowah,	347	1217	Russell,	1402	1678

2 VOTE BY COUNTIES, FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Shelby,	840	1455	Washington,	139	575
St. Clair,	496	942	Wileox,	1264	1860
Sumter,	1337	1787	Winston,	126	149
Talladega,	1757	1659			
Tallapoosa,	770	2676	Totals,	56378	90689
Tuscaloosa,	807	1835	Majority,		34311
Walker,	220	539	Total vote, 151,620.		

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Secretary of State.	
O'Neal, D.	101841	Phelan, D.	104403
Sheffield, I.	46839	Townsend, I.	45251
Treasurer.		Auditor.	
Vincent, D.	105061	Carmichael, D.	105506
Montgomery, I.	44092	Shields, I.	45506
Attorney-General.			
Tompkins, D.	104812	Lane, I.	45078

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	79444	90272	10828 R.
1874 Governor.....	107118	93928	13190 D.
1876 Governor.....	100837	96091	44746 D.
1876 President.....	102989	68708	34281 D.
1878 Governor	89571	.....	89571 D.
1880 Governor.....	134213	42458	91755 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Edward A. O'Neal; Secretary of State, Ellis Phelan; Treasurer, I. H. Vincent; Attorney-General, H. C. Tompkins; Auditor, J. M. Carmichael; Superintendent of Education, H. C. Armstrong—all Democrats.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 3

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	—	8	8
Democrats.....	31	80	111
Ind. Democrats.....	...	6	6
Greenbackers.....	2	6	8
Democratic maj.....	29	72	101

ARKANSAS.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Arkansas,	716	861	Garland,	566	814
Ashley,	672	727	Grant,	105	478
Baxter,	156	607	Green,	23	515
Benton,	298	1964	Hempstead,	1641	1450
Boone,	325	1134	Hot Spring,	208	609
Bradley,	178	575	Howard,	453	884
Calhoun,	270	471	Independence,	435	1468
Carroll,	399	887	Izard,	223	1005
Chicot,	1552	266	Jackson,	500	883
Clark,	880	1262	Jefferson,	3196	885
Clay,	73	590	Johnson,	279	1098
Columbia,	582	1173	Lafayette,	544	615
Conway,	1020	908	Lawrence,	104	800
Craighead,	83	574	Lee,	995	539
Crawford,	974	1138	Lincoln,	848	468
Crittenden,	913	239	Little River,	547	491
Cross,	209	464	Logan,	827	1155
Dallas,	296	495	Lonoke,	599	1001
Desha,	32	478	Madison,	414	735
Dorsey,	281	514	Marion,	120	654
Drew,	553	888	Miller,	735	884
Faulkner,	459	1097	Mississippi,	398	596
Franklin,	468	1583	Monroe,	963	715
Fulton,	76	558	Montgomery,	142	445

4 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Nevada,	372	946	Sebastian,	1074	1639
Newton,	340	320	Sevier,	141	501
Onachuta,	929	858	Sharp,	174	793
Perry,	175	187	St. Francis,	494	693
Phillips,	2267	924	Stone,	50	417
Pike,	152	346	Union,	789	1096
Poinsett,	111	265	Van Buren,	162	873
Polk,	48	324	Washington,	788	1937
Pope,	376	1156	White,	301	1922
Prairie,	504	749	Woodruff,	728	668
Pulaski,	3351	1971	Yell,	669	1241
Randolph,	147	905			
Saline,	266	719	Totals,	41661	60489
Scott,	205	609	Majority,		18828
Searcy,	566	452	Total vote,	106,229.	

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Secretary of State.	
Berry, D.	87675	Frolich, D.	86709
Shack, R.	49352	Tufts, R.	49163
Garland, G.	10142	Tobey, G.	9273
Treasurer.		Auditor.	
Woodruff, D.	89038	Files, D.	87940
Waterhouse, R.	49601	Barry, R.	55400

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	37927	41973	31,000 R.
1874 Governor.....	76871	.....	76871 D.
1874 Congress.....	42671	22808	19863 D.
1876 Governor.....	71298	37306	33992 D.
1876 President.....	58083	38669	19414 D.
1878 Governor.....	88792	.....	88792 D.
1880 President.....	60489	41661	18828 D.
1880 Governor.....	84185	31424	52761 D.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 5

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, J. H. Berry; Secretary of State, Jacob Frolich; Treasurer, Wm. E. Woodruff, Jr.; Auditor, A. W. Files; Attorney-General, C. B. Mone; Land Commissioner, W. P. Campbell; Superintendent of Public Instruction, W. E. Thompson—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	1	13	14
Democrats.....	30	81	111
Greenbackers.....	2	2	4
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.	27	66	93

CALIFORNIA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Alameda,	5887	3894	Mendocino,	970	1313
Alpine,	66	41	Merced,	516	736
Amador,	1344	1411	Modoc,	370	463
Butte,	1811	1832	Mono,	914	821
Calaveras,	1156	1137	Monterey,	1258	1205
Colusa,	881	1607	Napa,	1199	1082
Contra Costa,	1300	1010	Nevada,	2238	2029
Del Norte,	263	297	Placer,	1640	1416
El Dorado,	1416	1520	Plumas,	697	645
Fresno,	614	1133	Sacramento,	3791	2817
Humboldt,	1489	735	San Benito,	429	646
Inyo,	321	274	San Bernardino,	729	701
Kern,	463	661	San Diego,	740	546
Lake,	454	677	San Francisco,	19042	21471
Lassen,	303	301	San Joaquin,	2560	2409
Los Angeles,	2915	2853	San Luis Obispo,	830	729
Marin,	759	561	San Mateo,	760	720
Mariposa,	432	598	Santa Barbara,	901	717

6 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Santa Clara,	3114	2821	Trinity,	464	458
Santa Cruz,	1233	1102	Tulare,	918	1316
Shasta,	865	877	Tuolumne,	922	1001
Sierra,	994	559	Ventura,	597	522
Siskiyou,	799	900	Yolo,	1253	1374
Solano,	1960	1959	Yuba,	1165	1185
Sonoma,	2286	2628			
Stanislaus,	752	1161	Totals,	80273	80417
Sutter,	602	591	Majority,		144
Tehama,	867	954			

Total vote for President, 160,690. Total vote for Governor, 169,094. Judge Terry, one of the Democratic candidates for Elector, ran 546 votes behind his ticket, and was beaten by Edgerton, the Republican candidate having the highest number of votes, by a majority of 507. The California Electoral College consisted of five Democrats and one Republican.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Estee, R.	67173	Conklin, R.	71640
Stoneman, D.	90695	Daggett, D.	87944
McQuiddy, G.	1020	Swazey, G.	1133
McDonald, P.	5772	Sims, P.	3783

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 President.....	40718	54020	1068	13302 R
1873 Supreme Court...	19247	13841	24554	5207 I.
1875 Sup. Pub. In.....	39630	45257	.....	5627 R.
1875 Governor.....	61500	31322	29752	30187 D.
1876 President.....	76464	79269	11	2805 R.
1879 Governor.....	47647	67905	44482	20318 R.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 7

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, George Stoneman; Lieutenant-Governor, John Daggett; Secretary of State, Thomas L. Thompson; Treasurer, William A. Jannay; Attorney-General, E. C. Marshall—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	31	61	92
Republicans.....	9	18	27
Workingmen.....	...	1	1
	—	—	—
Democratic maj	22	42	64

COLORADO.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Arapahoe,	4214	3582	102	Lake,	3801	4197	142
Bent,	174	242	6	La Plata,	259	345	...
Boulder,	1313	796	293	Larimer,	646	388	178
Carter,	1297	1061	36	Las Animas,	586	1814	44
Chaffee,	1135	1183	17	Ouray,	479	418	6
Clear Creek,	1567	961	83	Park,	698	598	31
Concejos,	608	611	2	Pueblo,	824	860	...
Costilla,	334	379	...	Rio Grande,	298	198	...
Douglass,	331	282	1	Routt,	39	19	—
Elliot,	176	195	6	Saguache,	569	371	4
El Paso,	1151	580	30	San Juan,	224	196	5
Fremont,	606	530	65	Summit,	1289	1328	24
Gilpin,	1236	805	26	Weld,	804	373	251
Grand,	121	87	4				
Gunnison,	1012	1060	7	Totals.	27450	24647	1435
Hinsdale,	421	361	...	Majority,	2803		
Huerfano,	466	532	15	Total vote for President,			
Jefferson,	832	790	57				

53532.

8 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Supreme Judge.	
Campbell, R.	27552	Helm, R.	30335
Grant, D.	29897	Markham, D.	29819
Woy, G.	987	Hollingsworth, G.	1200

VOTES OF STATE AND TERRITORY SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 Congress	6260	7696	1336 R.
1874 Congress	9343	7170	2163 D.
1876 Congress	12310	13308	998 R.
1876 Governor.....	13316	14154	838 R.
	Dem.	Rep.	Gbk. Maj.
1878 Governor.....	11573	14396	2755 2823 R.
1878 Congress.....	12003	14294	2329 2291 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, James B. Grant, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, W. H. Meyer, R.; Secretary, Melvin Edwards, R.; Treasurer, Frederick Walsen, R.; Auditor, John C. Abbott, R.; Attorney-General, D. F. Urney, R.; Superintendent of Instruction J. C. Shattuck, R.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	17	36	53
Democrats.....	9	13	22
Republican maj.....	8	23	31

CONNECTICUT.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Hartford,	13919	12088	234	N. London,	7766	6642	144
N. Haven,	15713	17895	212	Fairfield,	11996	12063	88

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 9

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Litchfield,	5944	5886	107	Tolland,	2867	2344	7
Windham,	4593	2880	18				
Middlesex,	4172	3719	58	Totals,	67073	64417	868
				Majority,	2656		

Total vote for President, including 412 Prohibition, 132,805.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Waller, D.	59014	Sumner, D.	59154
Buckly, R.	54853	Cudde, R.	54906
Rogers, P.	1024	Williams, P.	1026
Tanner, G.	697	Baker, G.	731

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Temp. Gbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	45894	50318	206	4218 R.
1873 Governor.....	45059	39245	2511	3273 D.
1874 Governor.....	46755	39973	4960	1809 D.
1875 Governor.....	53752	44272	2942	6538 D.
1876 President.....	61934	59034	378	2900 D.
1878 Governor.....	46385	48867	1079	8314 2482 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Thomas M. Waller, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, George G. Sumner, D.; Secretary of State, D. Ward Northrup, D.; Treasurer, Alfred R. Goodrich, D.; Controller, Frank S. Sloat, R.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	15	154	169
Democrats.....	9	95	104
Republican maj.....	6	59	

10 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

DELAWARE.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D	Hancock, D
New Castle,	7726	7622	
Kent,	3042	3665	Majority,
Sussex,	3380	3893	Total vote for President,
			29328.
Totals,	14148	15180	

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1882.

Stockley, D.	16558	Curry, R.	14620
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VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Others.	Maj.
1872 President.....	10205	11115	487	423 R.
1874 Governor.....	12488	11259	.....	1229 D.
1876 Congress.....	13169	10562	238	2839 D.
1876 President.....	13379	10691	.....	2688 D.
1878 Governor.....	10730	.....	2835	7895 D.
1878 Congress.....	10576	.....	2966	7610 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Charles C. Stockley, D.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	1	..	1
Democrats.....	8	21	29
Democratic maj.,.....	7	21	28

FLORIDA.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D	Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Alachua,	1845	1519	Calhoun,	89
Baker,	132	241	Columbia,	818
Brevard,	76	221	Clay,	207
Bradford,	303	923	Duval,	2611
				1509

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 11

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Escambia,	1302	1462	Nassau,	861	615
Franklin,	122	209	Orange,	386	1066
Gadsden,	1067	1226	Putnam,	750	749
Hamilton,	448	748	Polk,	9	508
Hernando,	167	652	Santa Rosa,	390	622
Hillsborough,	220	937	St. Johns,	354	608
Holmes,	3	311	Sumter,	268	716
Jackson,	1183	1475	Suwannee,	514	794
Jefferson,	1681	818	Taylor,	58	312
Lafayette,	75	352	Volusia,	333	491
Leon,	2832	985	Wakulla,	176	381
Levy,	474	784	Walton,	71	645
Liberty,	104	131	Washington,	139	420
Madison,	1014	1053			
Manatee,	162	604	Totals,	23631	28022
Marion,	1530	1070	Majority,		4401
Monroe,	867	1178	Total vote, 51663		

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMEN, 1882.

1st District.		2d District.	
Skinner, R.	7029	Bisbee, R.	13069
Davidson, D.	11240	Finley, D.	12813
McKinnon, I.	3547		

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	16004	17603	1599 R.
1872 President.....	15428	17765	2887 R.
1874 Congress.....	17555	18600	1054 R.
1876 Governor.....	24179	23984	195 D.
1876 President.....	24434	23340	94 D.
1878 Congress.....	20171	17927	2244 D.
1880 Governor.....	28341	23285	5056 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, W. D. Bloxham; Lieutenant-Governor, L. W.

12 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

Bethel; Secretary of State, John L. Crawford; Attorney-General, George P. Raney; Controller, W. D. Barnes; Treasurer, H. A. L'Eugle; Land Commissioner, P. W. White—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	7	31	38
Democrats.....	25	45	70
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Democratic maj.....	18	14	32

GEORGIA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Appling,	122	295	Clay,	381	515
Baker,	341	534	Clayton,	148	368
Baldwin,	317	860	Clinch,	93	368
Banks,	120	645	Cobb,	559	1980
Bartow,	827	1917	Coffee,	...	235
Bibb,	908	1588	Columbia,	...	244
Brooks,	739	984	Colquitt,	43	177
Bryan,	121	223	Coweta,	1285	1381
Bullock,	15	992	Crawford,	175	368
Burke,	2114	983	Dade,	83	450
Butts,	403	672	Dawson,	128	420
Calhoun,	398	378	Deeatur,	1005	1669
Camden,	635	331	De Kalb,	330	876
Campbell,	346	575	Dodge,	65	363
Carroll,	329	1240	Dooly,	249	835
Catoosa,	65	488	Dougherty,	1031	367
Charlton,	46	141	Douglas,	124	482
Chatham,	2160	3404	Farley,	249	737
Chattahoochee,	309	323	Echols,	40	185
Chatonga,	206	1166	Elfingham,	206	365
Cherokee,	125	1813	Elbert,	28	827
Clarke,	765	800	Emanuel,	177	769

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 13

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Fannin,	302	343	Marion,	230	467
Fayette,	183	499	McDuffie,	60	351
Floyd,	892	2251	McIntosh,	617	184
Forsythe,	120	1159	Merriwether,	888	1028
Franklin,	151	1173	Miller,	18	241
Fulton,	2229	3045	Milton,	46	460
Gilmer,	225	494	Mitchell,	699	607
Glascocok,	8	212	Monroe,	1023	1312
Glynn,	368	292	Montgomery,	72	246
Gordon,	163	1248	Morgan,	1105	828
Greene,	957	755	Murray,	95	933
Gwinnett,	244	1812	Muscogee,	930	1511
Habersham,	60	1121	Newton,	581	743
Hall,	269	1745	Oconee,	329	458
Hancock,	888	583	Oglethorpe,	158	637
Haralson,	60	1121	Paulding,	258	952
Harris,	893	1036	Pickens,	319	226
Hart,	164	460	Pierce,	195	275
Heard,	264	617	Pike,	733	1070
Henry,	506	691	Polk,	508	1066
Houston,	907	1382	Pulaski,	448	823
Irwin,	441	235	Putnam,	1	627
Jackson,	441	1271	Quitman,	191	301
Jasper,	267	524	Rabun,	8	532
Jefferson,	308	625	Randolph,	169	343
Johnson,	4	259	Richmond,	1497	2430
Jones,	520	504	Rockdale,	243	464
Laurens,	155	524	Schley,	144	300
Lee,	715	263	Screven,	318	1131
Liberty,	720	419	Spalding,	861	742
Lincoln,	.....	277	Stewart,	128	640
Lowndes,	660	746	Sumter,	1167	986
Lumpkin,	64	568	Talbot,	798	1139
Macon,	748	705	Taliaferro,	390	355
Madison,	104	592	Tatnall,	113	562

14 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Taylor,	324	572	Washington,	939	1071
Telfair,	63	267	Wayne,	122	353
Terrell,	327	736	Webster,	164	301
Thomas,	1213	1316	White,	56	644
Towns,	178	254	Whitfield,	172	907
Troup,	713	719	Wilcox,	16	294
Twiggs,	362	196	Wilkes,	193	727
Union,	47	664	Wilkinson,	72	557
Upson,	597	789	Worth,	132	491
Walker,	341	1194			
Walton,	279	855	Totals,	54086	102407
Ware,	201	323	Majorities,		48321
Warren,	266	572	Total vote, 156,493.		

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Congress at Large.	
Stephens, D.	107253	Hardeman, D	79340
Gartrell, I.	44896	Forsyth, R.	23745

In 1883, Henry D. McDaniel, D., was elected Governor, substantially without opposition, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of A. H. Stephens.

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	O'Connor.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	103529	46643	.....	56886 D.
1872 President.....	76278	62715	4000	13563 D.
1874 Congress.....	93347	53161	.....	60486 D.
1876 President.....	138756	50538	.....	88218 D.
1876 Governor.....	110617	34529	.....	76088 D.
1880 Governor.....	118349	64004	.....	54345 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Henry D. McDaniel ; Secretary of State, N. C. Barnett ; Controller General, Wm. A. Wright ; Treasurer,

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 15

D. N. Speer: Attorney General, Clifford Anderson; Superintendent of Schools, G. J. Orr—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	44	169	213
Republicans.....	...	6	6
Democratic maj.,.....	44	163	207

ILLINOIS.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Adams,	4987	6113	608	Edgar,	2831	2989	127
Alexander,	1579	1353	46	Edwards,	1177	575	10
Bond,	1711	1273	108	Effingham,	1361	2452	100
Boone,	2038	351	84	Fayette,	2136	2633	207
Brown,	1008	1655	153	Ford,	1857	780	455
Bureau,	4009	2655	329	Franklin,	1286	1610	283
Calhoun,	505	946	22	Fulton,	4168	4718	553
Carroll,	2396	960	154	Gallatin,	1050	1574	20
Cass,	1262	1778	221	Greene,	1865	3160	49
Cham-				Grundy,	2087	1135	202
paign,	4720	3472	566	Hamilton,	1002	1760	499
Christian,	2687	3346	191	Hancock,	3600	3957	274
Clark,	1900	2374	337	Hardin,	484	765	10
Clay,	1555	1660	135	Hender-			
Clinton,	1578	2242	116	son,	1279	923	152
Coles,	2001	2005	141	Henry,	4469	2064	730
Cook,	54808	44293	1168	Iroquois,	4128	2738	443
Crawford,	1511	1917	21	Jackson,	2152	2160	493
Cumber-				Jasper,	1194	1761	88
land,	1365	1563	92	Jefferson,	1700	2304	311
De Kalb,	4124	1578	104	Jersey,	1348	2107	123
De Witt,	2011	1845	168	Jo Daviess,	2904	2463	163
Douglas,	1918	1689	65	Johnson,	1521	893	170
Du Page,	2327	1229	16	Kane,	6180	2831	410

16 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Kankakee,	3201	1640	107	Pulaski,	1174	742	37
Kendall,	1954	679	233	Putnam,	704	503	2
Knox,	4863	2392	869	Randolph,	2705	2614	41
Lake,	2884	1494	59	Richland,	1628	1736	2
La Salle,	6941	6308	892	Rock Isl,	4025	2565	1001
Lawrence,	1492	1497	39	Saline,	1488	1608	25
Lee,	3353	2242	195	Sangamon,	5476	6196	238
Living-				Schuyler,	1520	1937	69
ston,	3771	2861	865	Scott,	1035	1288	129
Logan,	2729	2687	121	Shelby,	2017	3328	1017
Macon,	3447	3069	185	Stark,	1383	681	380
Macoupin,	3904	4341	114	St. Clair,	5847	5877	251
Madison,	5024	4677	115	Stephen-			
Marion,	2060	2507	471	son,	3581	3071	65
Marshall,	1684	1603	107	Tazewell,	2019	3367	153
Mason,	1616	1926	148	Union,	1139	2264	10
Massac,	1484	778	14	Vermillion,	4982	3422	453
McDon-				Wabash,	939	1142	39
ough,	3014	2877	464	Warren,	2849	2003	305
McHenry,	3516	1799	194	Washing-			
McLean,	7316	5203	317	ton,	2280	1912	44
Menard,	994	1473	470	Wayne,	2063	2004	159
Mercer,	2348	1487	448	White,	1812	2591	265
Monroe,	1172	1713	.....	Whiteside,	3918	2215	403
Montgom-				William-			
ery,	2702	3173	201	son,	5776	3803	882
Morgan,	3199	3452	297	Will,	1853	1825	141
Moultrie,	1233	1593	197	Winne-			
Ogle,	4053	2085	250	bago,	4617	1511	278
Peoria,	5105	5705	720	Woodford,	2007	2264	103
Perry,	1751	1535	64				
Piatt,	1855	1578	156	Total,	318032	277635	29053
Pike,	2968	3812	777	Majority,	40397		
Pope,	1561	914	39	Total vote,	621,720.		

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 17

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

State Treasurer.		Sup't of Instruction.	
Smith, R.	254542	Stratton, R.	250278
Orendorf, D.	249067	Raab, D.	253145

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Gbk.	Maj.	
1872 President.....	184770	241248	.....	53420	R.
1874 Sup't Pub. In.	197490	166984	.....	30506	Op. & D.
1876 Congress.....	251870	276552	.....	24682	R.
1876 President.....	258001	278232	.....	19631	R.
1876 Governor.....	272432	279226	.....	6794	R.
1878 Treasurer.....	170085	206458	68689	36333	R.
1880 President.....	277635	318032	26053	40397	R.
1880 Governor.....	277532	314565	26663	37033	R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, John M. Hamilton, R.; Sec'y of State, Henry D. Dement, R.; Auditor, Charles P. Swigert, R.; Treasurer, John C. Smith, R.; Attorney-General, James McCartney, R.; Superintendent of Instruction, Henry Raab, D.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	31	77	108
Democrats.....	20	76	96
Republican maj.....	11	1	12

INDIANA.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.		
	R	D	G		R	D	G
Adams,	1014	2226	23	Blackford,	781	1029	127
Allen,	4815	7791	81	Boone,	2770	2742	690
Bartholo-				Brown,	599	1576	42
mew,	2575	2930	57	Carroll,	2205	2215	61
Benton,	1522	1272	62	Cass,	3387	3579	119

18 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R D G				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R D G		
Clark,	2899	3659	34	Lagrange,	2267	1393	116
Clay,	2851	2893	363	Lake,	2103	1198	39
Clinton,	2565	3015	110	Laporte,	3631	3880	121
Crawford,	1134	1368	55	Lawrence,	2057	1701	146
Daviess,	2320	2387	85	Madison,	2798	3722	93
Dearborn,	2547	3615	12	Marion,	13903	11362	708
Decatur,	2509	2291	94	Marshall,	2136	2679	555
DeKalb,	2441	2582	110	Martin,	1311	1621	37
Delaware,	3683	1826	59	Miami,	3016	3066	107
Dubois,	900	2498	15	Monroe,	1780	1682	165
Elkhart,	4191	3472	187	Montgom-			
Fayette,	1760	1230	11	ery,	3643	3405	163
Floyd,	2114	3160	176	Morgan,	2391	2446	133
Fountain,	2257	2261	554	Newton,	1202	1716	103
Franklin,	1683	3151	2	Noble,	2878	2878	31
Fulton,	1757	1804	51	Ohio,	727	588	18
Gibson,	2662	2477	74	Orange,	1421	1521	97
Grant,	3133	2378	158	Owen,	1486	1977	106
Greene,	2456	2246	192	Parke,	1672	1875	236
Hamilton,	3638	2093	166	Perry,	1659	1867	27
Hancock,	1722	2273	125	Pike,	1618	1760	229
Harrison,	1950	2481	131	Porter,	2243	1578	117
Hendricks,	3196	1994	218	Posey,	2127	2615	23
Henry,	3784	2031	252	Pulaski,	597	1004	289
Howard,	3000	1796	121	Putnam,	2509	2850	119
Hunting-				Randolph,	4295	2058	44
ton,	2638	2657	125	Ripley,	2099	2470	12
Jackson,	1997	3138	67	Rush,	2677	2324	52
Jasper,	1320	848	91	Scott,	771	1100	16
Jay,	2243	2161	156	Shelby,	2648	3555	68
Jefferson,	3296	2647	60	Spencer,	2363	2475	79
Jennings,	2068	1710	56	Starke,	381	563	178
Johnson,	2020	2461	287	St. Joseph,	4147	3682	390
Knox,	2693	3443	24	Steuben,	2325	1283	106
Kosciuski,	3571	2837	93	Sullivan,	1007	3049	140

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 19

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	G.		R	D	G.
Switzer-				Warren,	1850	901	124
land,	1549	1429	160	Warrick,	2008	2344	72
Tippeca-				Washing-			
noe,	5061	3820	136	ton,	1709	2400	25
Tipton,	1518	1856	62	Wayne,	6252	3325	138
Union,	1085	816	3	Wells,	1515	2395	513
Vander-				White,	1610	1591	124
burgh,	4909	4481	235	Whitley,	1941	2229	23
Vermil-							
lion,	1562	1235	140	Totals,	232164	225522	12986
Vigo,	4983	4576	781	Majority,	6642		
Wabash,	3739	2339	56	Total vote,	470,672.		

VOTE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE, 1882.

Myers, D.	220018	Hawn, R.	210234
Leonard, G.			18520

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	188276	189422	189	1337 D.
1872 President.....	189144	163637	1417	21000 R.
1874 Secretary of State	164902	182154	16233	17252 D.
1876 President.....	207971	213526	9583	5555 D.
1876 Governor.....	208080	213164	13213	5084 D.
1878 Secretary of State	180657	194770	39415	14113 D.
1880 Governor.....	231405	224452	14881	6953 R.
1880 President.....	232164	225522	12986	6642 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT

Governor, Albert G. Porter, R.; Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Hanna, R.; Secretary of State, William R. Myers, D.; Auditor, James H. Rice, D.; Treasurer, John J. Cooper, D.; Attorney-General, Francis T. Hord, D.; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John W. Holcombe, D.

20 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	28	58	86
Republicans.....	22	41	63
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.	6	17	23

IOWA.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.		
	R.	D	G		R	D	G
Adair,	1607	515	520	Decatur,	1570	948	683
Adams,	1338	581	535	Delaware,	2396	1489	59
Allamakee,	1838	1531	332	Des Moines,	3414	2318	93
Appanoose,	1642	1281	691	Dickinson,	325	46	...
Audubon,	963	637	76	Dubuque,	3007	4576	257
Benton,	2948	1372	284	Emmet,	276	28	9
Blackhawk,	3014	1558	70	Fayette,	2547	170	904
Boone,	2275	1292	352	Floyd,	1928	623	317
Bremer,	1548	707	912	Franklin,	1501	410	75
Buchanan,	2156	1208	443	Fremont,	1920	1650	409
Buena Vista,	1058	318	50	Greene,	1645	457	399
Butler,	2072	937	37	Grundy,	1493	981	12
Calhoun,	859	801	19	Guthrie,	1707	635	615
Carroll,	1189	1169	104	Hamilton,	1305	332	283
Cass,	2232	1179	314	Hancock,	517	168	4
Cedar,	2369	1421	135	Hardin,	2223	812	115
Cerro Gordo,	1604	677	20	Harrison,	1902	1321	382
Cherokee,	1118	412	100	Henry,	2458	1142	572
Chickasaw,	1314	1016	454	Howard,	1066	285	673
Clarke,	1390	621	377	Humboldt,	669	259	26
Clay,	779	137	3	Ida,	694	335	4
Clayton,	3098	2419	108	Iowa,	1787	1286	335
Clinton,	2479	2887	312	Jackson,	2148	2522	241
Crawford,	1569	926	42	Jasper,	3162	1497	1144
Dallas,	2314	617	1286	Jefferson,	2130	1380	160
Davis,	1143	1207	1215	Johnson,	2400	2766	126

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 21

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	G.	H.	W.		G.	H.	W.
Jones,	2617	1627	15	Pitt'swatta'ie,	3687	2793	184
Krookuk,	2367	1803	360	Poweshiek,	2440	936	583
Kossuth,	781	249	86	Ringgold,	1450	436	525
Lee,	3098	3461	494	Sac,	1346	445	92
Laun,	4508	2875	301	Scott,	4322	2594	150
Louisa,	1745	720	200	Shelby,	1499	963	105
Lucas,	1599	1020	315	Sioux,	677	351	11
Lyon,	374	101	.....	Story,	2041	544	464
Madison,	1823	837	1090	Tama,	2712	1096	193
Mahaska,	3081	1210	1185	Taylor,	1984	784	559
Marion,	2452	1520	1190	Union,	1555	771	801
Marshall,	3084	1234	267	Van Buren,	1876	1529	299
Mills,	1689	1060	270	Wapello,	2846	2345	292
Mitchell,	1689	832	83	Warren,	2205	1019	952
Monona,	942	331	330	Washingt'n,	2516	1370	347
Monroe,	1289	775	483	Wayne,	1737	774	800
Mt'g'mery,	1981	692	427	Webster,	1575	798	589
Muscataine,	2064	1906	268	Winnebago,	703	67	33
O'Brien,	509	199	101	Win'esheik,	2474	1415	212
Osceola,	432	91	-	Woodbury,	1453	945	135
Page,	2709	972	339	Worth,	933	290	11
Palo Alto,	398	375	96	Wright,	758	182	31
Plymouth,	884	756	60				
Pocahontas,	463	214	17	Totals,	183927	105845	32701
Polk,	4781	2161	1204	Maj'r'ty	78082		

Total vote for President, including 592 Prohibition, 323,065.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Governor.		Supreme Judge.	
Sherman, R.	164182	Reed, R.	163896
Kline, D.	139093	Hayes, D.	141049
Weaver, G.	23089	Church, G.	21438

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem. Gbk. D.	Maj.
1872 President	131173	71134	....., 60089 R.

22 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Rep.	Dem.	Gbk. D.	Maj.
1873 Governor	105143	82598	.....	22565 R.
1874 Secretary of State	107250	79054	.....	28202 R.
1875 Governor	125058	93359	.....	31134 R.
1876 President	171332	112121	.....	59211 R.
1876 Secretary of State	172171	112115	.....	60056 R.
1877 Governor	121546	79353	.....	42193 R.
1878 Secretary of State	134544	1302	123577	10067 R.
1879 Governor	157571	85056	45429	72515 R.
1880 President	183027	105845	32701	78082 R.
1881 Governor	133326	73397	28146	59920 R.
1882 Secretary of State	149051	112180	30817	36871 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Buren R. Sherman; Lieutenant-Governor, O. M. Manning; Secretary of State, J. A. T. Hull; Treasurer, Ed. H. Conger; Auditor, John Lee Brown; Attorney-General, Smith McPherson; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John W. Ackers—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	39	52	91
Democrats.....	11	42	53
Greenbackers.....	....	6	6
Republican maj.....	28	4	42

KANSAS.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	U		R	D	U
Allen,	1576	803	44	Brown,	1875	896	107
Anderson,	1127	497	370	Butler,	2398	1119	434
Atchison,	2835	2132	71	Chase,	716	324	409
Barbour,	262	175	63	Chautau-			
Barton,	1172	714	62	qua,	1321	655	333
Bourbon,	2310	1161	364				

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 23

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R D U				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R D U		
Cherokee,	2374	1681	855	Marshall,	2276	997	427
Clay,	1765	531	369	McPherson,	2225	564	545
Cloud,	2156	888	65	Miami,	2010	1324	454
Colley,	1420	851	190	Mitchell,	1728	797	235
Cowley,	2630	1557	190	Montgomery,	1776	1294	694
Crawford,	1902	1356	450	Morris,	1282	550	179
Davis,	702	399	335	Nemaha,	1755	934	5
Decatur,	307	163	28	Neosho,	1471	948	461
Dickinson,	1954	886	292	Ness,	315	129	90
Doniphan,	2067	1143	51	Norton,	761	337	198
Douglas,	3049	1463	247	Osage,	2704	907	793
Edwards,	313	102	.....	Osborne,	1446	589	61
Elk,	1274	458	486	Ottawa,	1443	524	333
Ellis,	680	420	54	Pawnee,	697	235	17
Ellsworth,	1077	483	32	Phillips,	1261	553	221
Ford,	370	288	20	Pottawatomie,	2139	1179	224
Franklin,	2108	728	808	Pratt,	196	97	33
Graham,	494	104	210	Reno,	1384	536	252
Greenwood,	1311	667	347	Republic,	1875	661	151
Harper,	546	294	170	Rice,	1108	496	314
Harvey,	1554	585	135	Riley,	1484	376	347
Hodgeman,	176	52	38	Rooks,	805	338	326
Jackson,	1504	853	14	Rush,	542	238	25
Jefferson,	1976	1397	78	Russell,	932	317	110
Jewell,	2199	883	399	Saline,	1950	838	95
Johnson,	2132	1182	354	Sedgwick,	2288	1354	364
Kingman,	436	200	85	Shawnee,	4403	1548	123
Labette,	2720	1462	420	Sheridan,	93	52	64
Leavenworth,	3186	2489	175	Smith,	1525	517	405
Lincoln,	957	419	154	Stafford,	530	192	60
Linn,	1990	745	575	Sumner,	2073	1419	523
Lyon,	2398	869	402	Trego,	832	107	28
Marion,	1239	539	271				

24 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. U.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. U.		
Wabau-				Wy'ndotte,	2410	1733	236
see,	1279	510	39				
Washing-				Totals,	121549	59789	19851
ton,	1957	827	231	Majority,	61570		
Wilson,	1628	722	527	Total vote,	201189		
Woodson,	898	437	9				

An amendment to the Constitution, forever prohibiting the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors in the State, except for medical, scientific and mechanical purposes, was adopted by a vote of 92,302 to 84,304.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Glick, D.	83107	Finney, R.	98204
St. John, R.	75155	Bason, D.	60277
Robinson, G.	20935	Bayne, G.	23411

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	67048	32970	.....	33482 R.
1874 Governor.....	48504	35301	.....	13293 R.
1876 Governor.....	69073	46204	.....	22869 R.
1876 President.....	78322	37902	.....	40402 R.
1877 Lieut.-Governor..	62570	24740	.....	37830 R.
1878 Governor.....	74020	37208	27057	36812 R.
1880 President.....	121549	59789	19851	61570 R.
1880 Governor.....	115204	63557	19477	51647 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, G. W. Glick, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, D. W. Finney, R.; Secretary of State, James Smith, R.; Auditor, E. P. McCabe, R.; Treasurer, Samuel Howe, R.; Superintendent of Public Instruction, H. C. Speer, R.; Attorney-General, W. A. Johnson, R.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 25

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	37	86	123
Democrats.....	2	26	28
Greenbackers.....	1	13	14
	—	—	—
Republican maj.....	34	47	81

KENTUCKY.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Adair,	937	1095	Clinton,	605	333
Allen,	688	949	Crittenden,	786	827
Anderson,	595	1118	Cumberland,	729	598
Ballard,	411	1599	Daviess,	1271	3054
Barren,	1358	2110	Edmonson,	432	484
Bath,	871	1128	Estill,	772	809
Bell,	533	261	Elliott,	115	623
Boone,	446	1734	Fayette,	2830	2449
Bourbon,	1638	1686	Fleming,	1368	1592
Boyd,	959	794	Floyd,	394	946
Boyle,	1191	1284	Franklin,	1134	1751
Brecken,	817	1542	Fulton,	179	707
Breathitt,	830	797	Gallatin,	274	683
Breckinridge,	912	1376	Garrard,	1190	1069
Bullitt,	275	788	Grant,	869	1333
Butler,	728	540	Graves,	930	2143
Cadwell,	890	1160	Grayson,	724	1012
Calloway,	.....	1187	Green,	726	685
Campbell,	2859	3059	Greenup,	925	726
Carroll,	372	1469	Hancock,	279	569
Carter,	695	577	Hardin,	962	1677
Cassey,	708	892	Harlan,	794	496
Christian,	2844	1853	Harrison,	1103	1867
Clark,	1059	1263	Hart,	1071	1451
Clay,	922	674	Henderson,	1504	2227

26 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Henry,	383	1661	Muhlenburg,	917	1057
Hickman,	386	1069	Nelson,	949	1768
Hopkins,	838	1459	Nicholas,	901	1416
Jackson,	758	272	Ohio,	702	1645
Jefferson,	8746	13970	Oldham,	502	901
Jessamine,	1057	979	Owen,	630	2644
Johnson,	603	472	Owsley,	663	222
Kenton,	2980	4370	Pendleton,	1186	1779
Knox,	964	611	Perry,	559	318
Larue,	469	1032	Pike,	758	1060
Laurel,	905	622	Powell,	608	348
Lawrence,	726	936	Pulaski,	1860	1459
Lee,	418	394	Robertson,	395	696
Leslie,	518	57	Rockcastle,	749	700
Letcher,	300	379	Rowan,	281	289
Lewis,	1388	1075	Russell,	366	531
Lincoln,	1170	1545	Scott,	1299	1683
Livingston,	222	868	Shelby,	1039	1849
Logan,	1488	1999	Simpson,	501	1076
Lyon,	427	630	Spencer,	358	850
Madison,	2003	2056	Taylor,	537	879
Magoffin,	619	553	Todd,	1201	1250
Marion,	1023	1525	Trigg,	873	1262
Marshall,	186	979	Trimble,	151	1082
Martin,	121	304	Union,	514	1931
Mason,	1640	2536	Warren,	1763	2253
McCracken,	1045	1537	Washington,	1172	1319
McLean,	337	755	Wayne,	523	709
Meade,	317	1067	Webster,	393	946
Menifee,	158	490	Whitley,	962	479
Mercer,	1158	1591	Wolfe,	348	572
Metcalf,	772	736	Woodford,	1104	1228
Monroe,	621	516			
Montgomery,	957	1211	Totals,	104550	147999
Morgan,	443	1139	Majority,		43449

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 27

Total vote for President, including 257 Prohibition, 264,304.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Governor.		Congress, 1882.	
Knott, D.	133615	Democratic,	102037
Morrow, R.	89181	Opposition,	89065

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep. I.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 President	100212	88816	2374	11396 D.
1874 Court of App'l's	114348	53504	.....	60844 D.
1875 Governor	126976	90795	.....	36181 D.
1876 President	160445	98415	.....	62030 D.
1877 Treasurer	96557	20451	.....	76106 D.
1879 Governor	125799	81882	18954	43917 D.
1880 President	147999	104550	11498	43449 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, J. Proctor Knott ; Lieutenant-Governor, James E. Cantrill ; Secretary of State, James Blackburn ; Attorney-General, P. W. Hardin ; Auditor, Fayette Hewitt ; Treasurer, J. W. Tate ; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Joseph Desha Pickett ; Register of Land Office, J. C. Cecil—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total
Democrats	33	84	117
Republicans	3	11	14
Independents	2	5	7
Democratic maj.....	28	68	96

28 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

LOUISIANA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Ascension,	1640	411	Natchitoches,	524	1629
Assumption,	1458	796	Ouachita,	18	2225
Avoyelles,	1280	1310	Orleans,	5859	17330
Baton Rouge, E.	970	1153	Plaquemines,	861	735
" W.	228	330	Point Coupee,	759	891
Bienville,	781	783	Rapides,	560	1748
Bossier,	185	2114	Red River,	85	590
Caddo,	8	2478	Richland,	32	1122
Calecasieu,	90	784	Sabine,	.....	433
Caldwell,	140	529	St. Bernard,	221	300
Cameron,	57	165	St. Charles,	899	108
Carroll, E.	1303	209	St. Helena,	244	308
" W.	42	247	St. James,	726	509
Catahoula,	158	616	St. John,	1058	383
Claiborne,	160	1353	St. Landry,	1086	2009
Concordia,	245	1445	St. Martin,	948	632
De Soto,	160	795	St. Mary,	2179	571
Feliciano, E.	116	763	St. Tammany,	357	431
" W.	131	1168	Tensas,	578	2072
Franklin,	15	571	Terrebonne,	439	1005
Grant,	86	326	Tangipahoa,	339	714
Iberia,	1113	60	Union,	52	1162
Iberville,	196	524	Vermilion,	15	374
Jackson,	.....	382	Vernon,	.....	372
Jefferson,	981	438	Washington,	27	346
Lafourche,	1698	1428	Webster,	188	861
Lafayette,	1	590	Winn,	.....	320
Lincoln,	.....	1415			
Livingston,	72	270	Totals,	31891	65310
Madison,	456	926	Majority,		33419
Morehouse,	53	981			

Total vote for President, including 423 Greenback, 97,624.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 29

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	72800	55249	17641 R.
1874 Treasurer.....	69544	68586	958 R.
1874 Treasurer.....	71902	74901	2939 D.
1876 President.....	75315	70508	4807 R.
1876 President.....	77174	83723	6549 D.
1876 Governor.....	74624	71198	3426 R.
1876 Governor.....	76177	84487	8010 D.
1878 Treasurer.....	34064	77212	43148 D.
1879 Governor.....	41460	72611	31151 D.
1880 President.....	31891	65310	33419 D.

PRESIDENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Samuel D. McKimry; Secretary of State, William A. Strong; Attorney-General, A. F. Eagan; Auditor, Allen Junch; Treasurer, E. A. Burke; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Edwin Fay—all Democrats.

PRESIDENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	32	80	112
Republicans.....	4	18	22
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	28	62	90

MAINE.

Garfield, Hancock-Wentworth, H. Wentworth, P. G.				Garfield, Hancock-Wentworth, H. Wentworth, P. G.			
Androsog- gon,	4974	4215	207	Knox,	2880	3059	415
Arcootook,	2560	2738	37	Lincoln,	2069	2800	98
Camber- land,	10167	9339	487	Oxford,	4351	3069	251
Franklin,	2390	2178	72	Pemosecot,	8186	6307	1157
Hancock,	4314	3608	137	Piscata- quis,	1943	1330	145
Kennebec,	7771	5001	385	Sagada- hoc,	2032	1761	31

30 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, Hancock-Weaver, R. Weaver, F. G.				Garfield, Hancock-Weaver, R. Weaver, F. G.		
Somerset,	4090	3526	440	York,	7700	7090	228
Waldo,	2748	3848	220				
Washing- ton,	4361	3622	98	Totals,	74039	65171	4408
				Majority,	8868		

Total vote for President, including 93 Prohibition, 143,711.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1882.

Robie, R.	72724	Chase, G.	1302
Plaisted, F.	63852	Eustis, P.	395
Vinton, L.			270

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Others.	Maj.
1872 President.....	29087	61422	.....	32335 R.
1873 Governor.....	32816	45674	2090	12858 R.
1874 Governor.....	41734	53131	275	11397 R.
1875 Governor.....	53213	57085	.....	3872 R.
1876 Governor.....	60215	75710	529	15495 R.
1876 President.....	49283	66300	663	17017 R.
1877 Governor.....	42114	53631	6076	11517 R.
1878 Governor.....	37872	56519	41404	18647 R.
1880 Governor.....	73766	73597	463	169 D.
1880 President.....	65171	74039	4408	8868 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Frederick H. Robie, R.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	28	109	137
Fusion.....	3	42	45
	—	—	—
Republican maj.....	25	67	92

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 31

MARYLAND.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Allegany,	3337	3087	Howard,	1365	1787
Anne Arundel,	2450	2749	Kent,	1858	1974
Baltimore			Montgomery,	2497	3126
City,	22328	32672	Prince George's,	2637	2721
Baltimore			Queen Anne's,	1666	2307
County,	5348	7264	Somerset,	1883	1710
Calvert,	688	876	St. Mary's,	1772	1530
Caroline,	1231	1430	Talbot,	1988	2148
Carroll,	3138	3492	Washington,	4080	4030
Cecil,	2674	2984	Wicomico,	.....	701
Charles,	1889	1685	Worcester,	1402	2256
Dorchester,	108	.....		
Frederick,	5764	5281	Totals,	73789	89150
Garrett,	1210	1124	Majority,		16161
Harford,	2476	3016	Total vote,	163739.	

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Governor.		Controller, 1881.	
McLane, D.	92698	Keating, D.	75587
Holton, R.	80648	Gorsuch, R.	61944

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	67685	66760	925 D.
1873 Controller	79651	59668	19983 D.
1874 Congress	67503	53377	14126 D.
1875 Governor	85451	72530	12921 D.
1876 President.....	91780	71981	19799 D.
1877 Controller	80708	59329	30379 D.
1879 Governor	90771	68605	22166 D.
1880 President.....	89959	73789	16161 D.

32 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Robert M. McLane; Secretary of State, J. T. Briscoe; Attorney-General, Charles B. Roberts; Treasurer, Barnes Compton; Controller, J. Frank Turner; Clerk Court of Appeals, Spencer C. Jones—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	14	63	77
Republicans.....	12	28	40
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	2	35	37

MASSACHUSETTS.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. H. G.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. H. G.		
Barnstable,	3473	956	6	Norfolk,	10018	6512	183
Berkshire,	6687	5033	5	Nantucket,	395	108	.....
Bristol,	13418	6176	215	Plymouth,	8942	4660	323
Dukes,	576	174	.....	Suffolk,	28344	28862	313
Essex,	22550	16428	1808	Worcester,	23042	12849	467
Franklin,	4023	2097	122				
Hampshire,	5025	2111	112	Totals,	165205	111930	4548
Hampden,	8673	6195	124	Majority,	53245		
Middlesex,	30339	19799	870				

Total vote for President, including 682 Prohibition, 282395.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Robinson, R.	160092	Ames, R.	161329
Butler, D.	150228	Grinnell, D.	147661
Almy, P.	1881	Blackmer, P.	1911
Arnold, G.	53	Cushing, G.	1091

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 33

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Lab.	Temp.	Maj.
1872 President	59260	133472	.....	.....	74212 R.
1873 Governor	59360	72183	.....	.....	12823 R.
1874 Governor	96377	89345	.....	.....	7032 D.
1875 Governor	78333	83639	316	9124	5306 R.
1876 President	108777	150063	.....	779	41286 R.
1876 Governor	106850	137605	.....	12274	30755 R.
1877 Governor	73185	91255	16354	3552	18070 R.
1878 Governor	10162	131725	109435	1913	25290 R.
1879 Governor	9989	122751	100149	1645	13602 R.
1880 President	111960	165205	4548	682	53245 R.
1880 Governor	111410	164825	4864	1059	53415 R.
1881 Governor	54586	90309	4889	.....	42023 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, George D. Robinson; Lieutenant-Governor, Oliver Ames; Secretary, Henry B. Pierce; Treasurer, Daniel A. Gleason; Auditor, Charles R. Ladd; Attorney-General, Edgar J. Sherman—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	25	145	170
Democrats.....	15	95	110
Republican maj.....	10	50	60

MICHIGAN.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver. R. D. G.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver. R. D. G.		
Alcona,	386	252	9	Baraga,	173	224	.....
Allegan,	4604	2376	1209	Barry,	2083	1020	2129
Alpena,	960	824	38	Bay,	2404	2068	1734
Antrim,	600	153	215	Benzie,	449	170	142

34 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. O.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. O.		
Berrien,	4535	3536	540	Mackinac,	146	296	.....
Branch,	4121	1195	1626	Macomb,	3137	3218	201
Calhoun,	5187	3142	844	Manistee,	1189	870	240
Cass,	2859	2180	415	Manitou,	34	139	.....
Charlevoix,	784	304	78	Marquette,	2434	1271	14
Cheboygan,	605	541	99	Mason,	1267	766	76
Chippewa,	396	347	2	Mecosta,	1621	852	275
Clare,	488	370	44	Menomi-			
Clinton,	3299	2797	756	nce,	1380	840	4
Crawford,	183	142	20	Midland,	761	405	355
Delta,	708	441	6	Missaukee,	266	121	37
Eaton,	4195	2681	819	Monroe,	3178	3701	224
Emmet,	814	495	118	Montcalm,	4163	2770	763
Genesee,	4938	3085	925	Muskegon,	2807	1680	358
Gladwin,	160	243	7	Nawaygo,	1492	625	994
G. Traverse,	1356	428	70	Oakland,	5370	5150	318
Gratiot,	2548	1489	965	Oceana,	1481	482	501
Hillsdale,	4009	1951	1365	Ogemaw,	264	191	58
Houghton,	2100	1311	.....	Ontonagon,	228	218	25
Huron,	1713	1245	42	Osceola,	1225	581	23
Ingham,	3084	3412	1005	Oscoda,	.....	.....	.....
Ionia,	4210	2542	1257	Otsego,	328	217	81
Iosco,	809	513	5	Ottawa,	3284	2019	784
Isabella,	1438	996	129	Presque			
Isle Royal,	.....	.....	.....	Isle,	216	145	.....
Jackson,	4486	3744	1810	Roscom-			
Kalamazoo,	4478	3045	550	mon,	335	596	90
Kalkaska,	496	170	31	Saginaw,	5207	5304	609
Kent,	8313	5115	3087	Sanilac,	2237	1296	186
Keweenaw,	591	262	.....	Schooler't,	157	41	.....
Lake,	579	266	6	Shiawas-			
Lapeer,	3441	2906	171	see,	3347	1972	1167
Leelanaw,	594	545	83	St. Clair,	4219	3439	758
Lenawee,	6451	5246	402	St. Joseph,	3144	2102	1231
Livingston,	2879	2817	231	Tuscola,	2999	1517	358

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 35

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. G				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. G		
V'nBuren, 4131	2004	1062		Wexford, 1111	406	128	
Washtenaw, 4629	4958	333		Totals, 185341	131597	34895	
Wayne, 16157	15064	718		Majority, 53744			

Total vote for President, including 942 Prohibition, 352,775.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Jerome, R.	149581	Crosby, R.	157203
Begole, D.	154404	Pringle, D.	149433
Saugenderf, P.	6349	Brown, P.	4489

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Temp.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	79088	136202	1271	.....	55843 R.
1874 Governor.....	105550	111519	3937	.....	2035 R.
1875 Sup. Court. ..	91876	111951	.....	.....	20075 R.
1876 Governor.....	142492	165926	870	8297	23431 R.
1876 President.....	142095	166534	.....	.....	24139 R.
1877 Sup. Court....	85748	112653	.....	.....	26905 R.
1878 Governor.....	79682	126399	.....	74333	46717 R.
1880 Governor.....	137691	177954	.....	35032	40263 R.
1880 President.....	131597	185341	942	34895	53744 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Joseph W. Begole, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, Moreau S. Crosby, R.; Secretary, Harry A. Conant, R.; Treasurer, E. H. Butler, R.; Auditor, W. C. Stevens, R.; Attorney-General, Jacob J. Van Riper, R.; Superintendent of Instruction, V. B. Cochran, R.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	19	62	81
Democrats.....	13	37	50
Workingmen.....	..	1	1
Republican maj.....	6	24	30

36 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

MINNESOTA.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, P		Garfield, R	Hancock, P
Aitkin,	45	24	Lyon,	1141	195
Anoka,	975	523	McLeod,	1111	1031
Becker,	693	138	Marshall,	127	88
Benton,	251	355	Martin,	862	190
Big Stone,	450	254	Meeker,	1374	564
Blue Earth,	2729	1821	Mille Laes,	265	101
Brown,	1293	708	Morrison,	459	667
Carlton,	216	229	Mower,	2088	861
Carver,	1294	1118	Murray,	557	184
Cass,	131	68	Nicollet,	1273	274
Chippewa,	860	161	Nobles,	693	227
Chisago,	1246	252	Olmstead,	2486	1558
Clay,	920	349	Otter Tail,	2628	772
Cottonwood,	717	128	Pine,	221	235
Crow Wing,	328	227	Pipestone,	358	171
Dakota,	1610	1742	Polk,	1638	667
Dodge,	1702	600	Pope,	924	111
Douglas,	1438	295	Ramsey,	4334	4586
Faribault,	1863	734	Redwood,	866	217
Fillmore,	3216	846	Renville,	1452	598
Freeborn,	2461	625	Rice,	2493	1761
Goodhue,	4640	1354	Rock,	653	165
Grant,	596	43	St. Louis,	698	418
Hennepin,	8036	4105	Scott,	834	1776
Houston,	1907	1297	Sherburne,	431	212
Isanti,	839	64	Sibley,	970	1061
Jackson,	767	126	Stearns,	1415	2469
Kanabec,	101	48	Steele,	1642	944
Kandiyohi,	1608	150	Stevens,	638	513
Kitson,	158	73	Swift,	899	566
Lac qui Parle,	878	47	Todd,	664	361
Lake,	20	.....	Traverse,	118	85
Le Sueur,	1383	1882	Wabasha,	2040	1867
Lincoln,	468	112	Wadena,	366	107

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 37

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Waseca,	1381	963	Yellow Medi-		
Washington,	2067	1508	cine,	854	70
Watsonwan,	745	220			
Wilkin,	261	94	Totals,	93903	53315
Winona,	2572	2555	Majority,	40588	
Wright,	2110	1317			

Total vote for President, including 3267 Greenback and 286 Prohibition, 150771.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Governor.		Congress, 1882.	
Hubbard, R.	72404	Republican,	92822
Bierman, D	57859	Democratic,	46653
Holt, P.	708	Greenback,	6470

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Temp.	Gbk.	Maj.	
1872 President.....	35211	55709	.....	.....	20498	R.
1873 Governor.....	35269	40781	1050	.....	5521	R.
1874 Chief Justice.....	42111	51996	.....	.....	9885	R.
1875 Governor.....	35168	47053	1484	.....	11885	R.
1876 President.....	48779	72962	.....	2389	24163	R.
1877 Governor.....	40215	57644	.....	.....	17429	R.
1878 Congress.....	45339	53598	.....	.....	8169	R.
1879 Governor.....	41583	56918	2867	4264	15385	R.
1880 President.....	53315	93903	286	3267	40588	R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, L. F. Hubbard; Lieutenant-Governor, C. A. Gilman; Secretary of State, Fred. Von Baumbach; State Treasurer, Charles Kattleson; Attorney-General, W. J. Hahn; Superintendent of Public Instruction, D. L. Kiehle—all Republicans.

38 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

Republican in both Houses.

MISSISSIPPI.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Adams,	965	1319	Kemper,	579	1104
Alcorn,	558	1111	Lafayette,	1215	2032
Amite,	304	566	Lauderdale,	465	1460
Attala,	874	1324	Lawrence,	567	006
Benton,	759	274	Leake,	299	1283
Bolivar,	1016	260	Lee,	80	1644
Calhoun,	76	1052	Leflore,	276	642
Carroll,	267	1266	Lincoln,	706	686
Chickasaw,	667	1505	Lowndes,	330	1203
Choctaw,	23	610	Madison,	928	1248
Claiborne,	292	1057	Marion,	201	317
Clarke,	545	1070	Marshall,	2454	2510
Clay,	284	1498	Monroe,	660	2066
Conhoma,	364	209	Montgomery,	143	1372
Copiah,	1419	2021	Neshoba,	84	736
Covington,	189	446	Newton,	.....	1026
De Soto,	1355	1070	Noxubee,	427	1284
Franklin,	263	440	Oktibbeha,	366	1210
Greene,	50	200	Panola,	1754	1744
Grenada,	276	739	Pearl,	.....	.....
Hancock,	197	433	Perry,	56	222
Harrison,	251	499	Pike,	635	914
Hinds,	1017	2398	Pontococ,	541	1227
Holmes,	1171	1770	Prentiss,	120	1493
Issaquena,	335	57	Quitman,	83	153
Itawamba,	37	1235	Rankin,	561	1208
Jackson,	298	560	Scott,	.....	793
Jasper,	339	961	Sharkey,	178	482
Jefferson,	140	948	Simpson,	229	519
Jones,	.....	295	Smith,	.....	966

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 39

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Sumner,	105	627	Washington,	1220	1125
Sunflower,	150	160	Wayne,	432	545
Tallahatchie,	415	764	Wilkinson,	1072	1438
Tate,	1435	1626	Winston,	241	841
Tippah,	400	1326	Yalabusha,	94	1173
Tishomingo,	51	796	Yazoo,	155	2133
Tunica,	531	193			
Union,	388	1484	Totals,	34854	75750
Warren,	74	1031	Majority,		40896

Total vote for President, 1880, including 677 scattering, 117,078.

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 President.....	81916	47191	34725 R.
1873 Governor.....	74307	52904	21403 R.
1875 Treasurer.....	66659	96806	30147 D.
1876 President.....	51605	109173	57568 D.
1877 Governor.....	1168	96454	95286 D.
1880 President.....	34854	75750	40896 D.
1881 Governor.....	51364	76365	25001 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Robert Lowry; Lieutenant-Governor, G. D. Shands; Secretary of State, Henry C. Myers; Treasurer, W. L. Hemingway; Auditor, Sylvester Gwin; Attorney-General, T. C. Catchings; Superintendent of Education, J. A. Smith—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	34	101	135
Republicans.....	3	14	17
Greenbackers.....	..	2	2
Independents.....	..	3	3
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	31	82	113

40 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

MISSOURI.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R	D	U		R	D	U
Adair,	1651	1260	326	Douglas,	497	163	556
Andrew,	1781	1571	121	Dunklin,	182	1330	.....
Atchison,	1228	1261	490	Franklin,	2647	2262	78
Audrain,	983	2322	530	Gageon-			
Barry,	910	1163	327	ade,	1512	487	.....
Barton,	599	942	712	Gentry,	1377	1982	334
Bates,	1877	2949	245	Greene,	2198	1912	1286
Benton,	1202	962	164	Grundy,	1917	1102	124
Bollinger,	629	1068	117	Harrison,	2097	1586	239
Boone,	1170	3269	418	Henry,	1694	2821	306
Buchanan,	3317	4693	391	Hickory,	675	436	252
Butler,	275	746	96	Holt,	1605	1297	212
Caldwell,	1369	1139	373	Howard,	1166	2047	514
Callaway,	1184	3369	110	Howell,	457	726	209
Camden,	563	507	197	Iron,	565	854	3
C. Girard-				Jackson,	5123	6703	735
cau,	1641	1839	102	Jasper,	2874	2533	1110
Carroll,	2039	2404	409	Jefferson,	1501	2012	62
Carter,	80	238	50	Johnson,	2400	2795	318
Cass,	1710	2710	275	Knox,	574	1468	765
Cedar,	926	900	258	Laclede,	365	960	774
Chariton,	1617	2899	543	Lafayette,	1822	3163	102
Christian,	791	438	520	Lawrence,	1567	1476	337
Clark,	1503	1570	120	Lewis,	1152	1928	152
Clay,	589	2969	193	Lincoln,	790	2089	634
Clinton,	1237	2061	187	Linn,	1991	2049	182
Cole,	1338	1384	55	Livings-			
Cooper,	1730	2189	372	ton,	1165	1859	1268
Crawford,	805	1099	69	McDonald,	213	706	471
Dade,	1227	902	238	Macon,	1726	2088	844
Dallas,	654	487	555	Madison,	391	952	1
Daviess,	1796	2045	285	Maries,	288	924	58
DeKalb,	1238	1305	221	Marion,	1811	3086	87
Dent,	707	1073	35	Mercer,	1573	990	231

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 41

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver,		
	R.	D.	G.		R.	D.	G.
Miller,	970	757	167	St. Francois,	775	1750	60
Mississippi,	525	1137	113	Ste Gene-			
Moniteau,	853	1323	643	vieve,	650	1081	40
Monroe,	671	3488	120	St. Louis,	3223	2719	4
Montgom-				Saline,	1907	3851	359
ery,	1329	1721	343	Schuyler,	570	1065	457
Morgan,	798	950	57	Scotland,	689	1405	479
N. Madrid,	341	1070	.....	Scott,	459	1330	.....
Newton,	957	1535	971	Shannon,	65	467	9
Nodaway,	2303	2485	941	Shelby,	350	1770	847
Oregon,	85	809	23	Stoddard,	590	1541	92
Osage,	1117	1137	10	Stone,	435	140	136
Ozark,	409	314	132	Sullivan,	1693	1717	187
Pemiscot,	85	749	.....	Taney,	337	313	207
Perry,	887	1110	71	Texas,	477	1250	285
Pettis,	2457	2908	306	Vernon,	940	2228	360
Phelps,	416	1132	548	Warren,	1343	662	203
Pike,	2151	3236	389	Washing-			
Platte,	945	2693	49	ton,	775	1489	78
Polk,	1506	1360	250	Wayne,	568	1114	46
Pulaski,	462	772	19	Webster,	561	1024	616
Putnam,	1513	725	424	Worth,	657	751	163
Ralls,	603	1800	14	Wright,	641	409	365
Randolph,	1051	2927	691	City St.			
Ray,	908	2614	568	Louis,	23006	23837	872
Reynolds,	139	747	.....			
Ripley,	115	578	70	Totals,	153587	208589	35135
St. Charles,	2223	2191	33	Majority,			55002
St. Clair,	765	963	1053	Total vote,	397310.		

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Supreme Judge.

Wagner, R.	128239	Sherwood, D.	133620
Rice, G.			33407

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	156714	121271	.....	35443 D.
1872 President.....	151433	119196	.....	32237 D.
1874 Governor.....	149556	112104	.....	37452 D.
1876 Governor.....	199580	147694	.....	51886 D.
1876 President.....	203977	145029	.....	58048 D.
1878 Sup. Judge.....	185171	96994	61167	88177 D.
1880 Governor.....	207670	153636	36338	54034 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Thomas T. Crittenden; Lieutenant-Governor, Robert A. Campbell; Secretary, M. K. McGrath; Auditor, John Walker; Treasurer, Philip E. Chappell; Attorney-General, D. H. McIntyre; Land Register, Robert McCulloch; Superintendent of Schools, Wm. E. Coleman—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	28	104	132
Republicans.....	6	32	38
Greenbackers.....	...	4	4
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	22	68	90

NEBRASKA.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Adams,	1447	550	Cheyenne,	232	322
Antelope,	577	145	Clay,	1517	520
Boone,	671	226	Colfax,	685	390
Buffalo,	1195	300	Cumby,	598	537
Burt,	1010	380	Custer,	290	130
Butler,	958	716	Dakota,	328	386
Cass,	1861	1303	Dawson,	347	179
Cedar,	218	326	Dixon,	459	315

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 43

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Dodge,	1439	1079	Nemaha,	1473	557
Douglas,	3290	2407	Nuckolls,	594	331
Fillmore,	1404	452	Otoe,	1918	1226
Franklin,	585	248	Pawnee,	1181	326
Frontier,	133	42	Phelps,	426	36
Furnas,	606	201	Pierce,	76	119
Gage,	1726	789	Platte,	854	832
Gosper,	156	70	Polk,	943	336
Greeley,	182	127	Red Willow,	284	147
Hall,	1150	547	Richardson,	1764	1492
Hamilton,	997	316	Saline,	1841	997
Harlan,	678	239	Sarpy,	491	516
Hitchcock,	135	49	Saunders,	1717	556
Holt,	334	309	Seward,	1354	699
Howard,	637	352	Sherman,	301	80
Jefferson,	1069	401	Stanton,	180	160
Johnson,	1068	579	Thayer,	834	348
Kearney,	550	242	Valley,	392	93
Keith,	32	51	Washington,	1190	499
Knox,	556	230	Wayne,	118	11
Lancaster,	3397	1381	Webster,	1006	389
Lincoln,	377	261	York,	1444	530
Madison,	670	426			
Merriek,	819	275	Totals,	54979	28523
Nance,	199	84	Majority,	26456	

Total vote for President, 89452.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Dawes, R.	43495	Agee, R.	44520
Maton, D.	28562	Warner, D.	26622
Ingersoll, G.	16991	Reynolds, G.	17656

44 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Temp.	Maj.
1872 President.....	18245	7705	.....	.....	10540 R.
1874 Governor.....	20874	8471	3987	1257	7159 R.
1875 Sup. Court	31226	15091	.....	.....	16135 R.
1876 President.....	31916	17554	2336	4964	14362 R.
1876 Governor.....	31947	17219	3022	30	14728 R.
1877 Sup. Court.....	29569	15639	775	.....	13930 R.
1878 Governor.....	29469	13473	9475	.....	15996 R.
1878 Congress.....	28341	21752	110	.....	6589 R.
1880 President.....	54979	28523	3950	.....	26456 R.
1880 Governor.....	55237	28167	3898	.....	27070 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, James W. Dawes; Lieutenant-Governor, A. W. Agee; Secretary of State, E. P. Roggen; Auditor, John Wallich; Commissioner of Public Lands and Buildings, A. G. Kendall; Attorney-General, Isaac Powers, Jr.; Superintendent of Public Instruction, W. W. W. Jones; Treasurer, P. D. Sturdevant—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

Republican majority of 7 on joint ballot.

NEVADA.

	Carroll, R.	Hancock, D.		Carroll, R.	Hancock, D.
Churchill,	82	99	Nye,	.....	.....
Douglas,	247	275	Ormsby,	624	452
Elko,	782	886	Storey,	2378	2766
Esmeralda,	605	678	Washoe,	756	828
Eureka,	1026	891	White Pine,	398	441
Humboldt,	373	590			
Lander,	.....	.....	Totals,	7895	8636
Lincoln,	257	419	Majority,		741
Lyon,	355	333			

Total vote for President, 1880, 16541.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 45

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Congress.	
Strother, R.	6535	Cassidy, D.	7720
Adams, D.	7770	Powning, R.	6462

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	6286	3413	2177 R.
1874 Governor.....	10330	7755	2584 D.
1876 President.....	9308	10353	1075 R.
1876 Congress.....	7270	10241	971 R.
1878 Governor.....	9151	9678	527 R.
1878 Congress.....	9047	9727	680 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Jewett W. Adams, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, E. C. Laughton, R.; Secretary of State, J. M. Dorner, R.; Controller, J. F. Hallock, R.; Treasurer, George Taffly, R.; Attorney-General, W. H. Dayenport, R.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	8	27	35
Democrats.....	12	13	25
	—	—	—
Republican maj.....	...	14	10

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Belknap,	2350	2483	Rockingham,	6959	5985
Carroll,	2370	2571	Stratford,	4682	3012
Cheshire,	4339	2976	Sullivan,	2729	2175
Coos,	1822	2379		—	—
Grafton,	4964	5352	Totals,	44787	40707
Hillsboro,	8687	6909	Majority,	4080	
Merrimack,	5936	5922			

Total vote for President, 86177.

46 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1882.

Hale, R. 38399 | Edgerley, D. 36879

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Temp.	Maj.
1872 President.....	31725	37168	200	5443 R.
1875 Governor.....	39121	39293	792	172 R.
1876 Governor.....	38128	41765	419	3218 R.
1876 President.....	38509	41539	82	3030 R.
1877 Governor.....	36721	40755	338	4034 R.
1878 Governor.....	31135	38175	6507	7040 R.
1880 Governor.....	40806	44435	892	3569 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Samuel W. Hale; Secretary of State, A. B. Thompson; Deputy Secretary of State, Isaac W. Hammond; Treasurer, Solon A. Carter; Adjutant-General, A. D. Ayling; State Librarian, William H. Kimball—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	17	192	209
Democrats.....	7	120	127
Republican maj.....	10	72	82

NEW JERSEY.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Atlantic,	2448	1720	Cumberland,	4446	3640
Bergen,	3680	4242	Essex,	20707	17795
Burlington,	7040	6543	Gloucester,	3645	2658
Camden,	7895	5832	Hudson,	14632	19586
Cape May,	1276	961	Hunterdon,	3753	5050

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 47

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Mercer,	7248	6673	Somerset,	3217	3157
Middlesex,	5120	6557	Sussex,	2519	3352
Monmouth,	5093	7614	Union,	5746	5665
Morris,	5720	5037	Warren,	5136	5240
Ocean,	1898	1654			
Passaic,	7576	5776	Totals,	120555	122565
Salem,	3155	3012	Majority,		2010

Total vote for President, including 191 Prohibition, 245,928.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1883.

Abbett, D.	103856	Dixon, R.	97047
Parsons, P.			4153

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	76801	91611	14810 R.
1874 Governor.....	97283	84050	13233 D.
1876 President.....	115956	103511	12445 D.
1877 Governor.....	97840	85094	12746 D.
1880 Governor.....	121666	121015	651 D.
1880 President.....	122565	120555	2010 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Leon Abbett, D.; Secretary of State, Henry C. Kelsey, D.; Treasurer, George M. Wright, R.; Attorney-General, John P. Stockton, D.; Controller, E. J. Anderson, R.; Chancellor, Theodore Runyon, D.; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ellis A. Apgar, D.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	9	33	42
Republicans.....	12	26	38
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	...	7	4

48 VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1876 AND 1880.

NEW YORK.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.	Weaver, U.	Hayes, R.	Tilden, D.
Albany,	16564	19624	354	16463	17641
Allegany,	6827	3482	486	6739	3741
Broome,	7173	5450	168	6767	5424
Cattaraugus,	7401	5466	672	6718	5054
Cayuga,	9372	5976	536	8958	6119
Chautauqua,	10422	5472	585	10065	5685
Chemung,	4636	4806	976	4732	5228
Chenango,	5769	4559	623	6173	4826
Clinton,	6080	4250	74	5502	4796
Columbia,	6486	5992	19	5799	6311
Cortland,	4124	2749	78	4038	2642.
Delaware,	6058	5083	218	5867	5272
Dutchess,	11045	8475	26	9501	9102
Eric,	24199	20848	442	20299	19533
Essex,	4776	2775	169	4477	2955
Franklin,	4185	2780	96	4104	2946
Fulton & Hamilton,	4985	3879	35	4262	4231
Genesee,	4815	3481	72	4322	3321
Greene,	3879	4405	175	3678	4771
Herkimer,	6331	5070	61	5966	5212
Jefferson,	9439	7216	31	9227	7694
Kings,	51751	61062	507	39065	57557
Lewis,	4036	3674	11	3610	3707
Livingston,	5522	4242	161	5267	4244
Madison,	6793	4683	182	6683	4762
Monroe,	17102	13742	316	14738	13127
Montgomery,	5230	4947	32	4457	4765
New York,	81739	123915	610	58596	112621
Niagara,	6478	5937	56	5575	5896
Oneida,	14546	12600	273	14020	12844
Onondaga,	16153	11732	138	14867	11162
Ontario,	6774	5767	134	6334	5528
Orange,	10088	9672	116	9430	9776

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1876 AND 1880. 49

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.	Weaver, G.	Hayes, R.	Tilden, D.
Orleans,	4581	3104	75	4253	3117
Oswego,	10236	6746	444	10229	7417
Otsego,	7516	7184	127	6859	7026
Putnam,	2113	1708	.....	1949	1805
Queens,	8151	10391	86	6970	9994
Rensselaer,	13672	13031	318	12254	12926
Richmond,	3291	4815	10	2883	4338
Rockland,	2688	3415	2	2349	3494
St. Lawrence,	13748	5835	16	13465	5784
Saratoga,	8116	5808	49	7489	6496
Schenectady,	3250	2628	73	2689	2947
Schoharie,	3646	5262	35	3549	5324
Schuyler,	2790	2293	112	2860	2254
Seneca,	3394	3892	45	3076	3613
Steuben,	10245	8992	584	9762	8803
Suffolk,	6515	6061	49	5589	5804
Sullivan,	3339	3718	434	3262	4402
Tioga,	4751	3627	189	4675	3406
Tompkins,	4896	3956	363	5032	4028
Ulster,	9994	9870	30	8914	10636
Warren,	3330	2618	379	3135	2663
Washington,	7779	4145	59	7303	4815
Wayne,	7600	5207	225	7081	5199
Westchester,	11367	11858	82	9574	12054
Wyoming,	4695	3309	58	4428	3266
Yates,	3432	2197	97	3327	2045
Totals,	555544	534511	12373	489225	522043
Majorities,	21033				32818

Total vote for President, 1880, including 1,517 Prohibition, 1,103,945. Total vote for President, 1876, including 1,987 Greenback and 2,359 Prohibition, 1,015,614.

50 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1883.

Secretary of State.		Controller.	
Carr, R.	446088	Davenport, R.	429873
Maynard, D.	427491	Chapin, D.	445974
Beecher, G.	70661	Treasurer.	
Gates, P.	18205	Sexton, R.	428923
		Maxwell, D.	446618

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	O'Connor.	Maj.	
1872 President.....	387279	410759	1404	53480	R.
			Temp.		
1873 Secretary of State	341001	331128	3238	9873	D.
1874 Governor.....	416391	366074	11168	50317	D.
1875 Secretary of State	390211	375401	11103	14810	D.
1876 Governor.....	519831	489031	.....	30800	D.
1876 President.....	522043	489225	.....	32818	D.
			Gbk.		
1877 Secretary of State	383062	371798	20282	11264	D.
1878 Supreme Judge...	356451	391112	75133	34661	R.
1879 Treasurer	433485	436000	21646	2515	R.
1879 Engineer.....	439681	427240	22779	12441	D.
1880 President.....	534511	555544	12373	21033	R.
1881 Secretary of State	403893	416915	16015	13022	R.
1882 Governor.....	535347	341523	26602	193824	D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Grover Cleveland, D.; Lieutenant-Governor, David B. Hill, D.; Secretary of State, Joseph B. Carr, R.; Controller, Alfred C. Chapin, D.; Treasurer, Robert A. Maxwell, D.; Attorney-General, Denis O'Brien, D.; State Engineer and Surveyor, Elnathan Sweet, D.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 51

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	19	72	91
Democrats.....	13	56	69
	—	—	—
Republican maj.....	6	16	22

NORTH CAROLINA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Alamance,	1247	1463	Davidson,	1864	1781
Alexander,	366	824	Davie,	766	975
Allegheny,	259	549	Duplin,	1228	2015
Anson,	1010	1617	Dare,	274	288
Ashe,	1069	1117	Edgecombe,	3475	1726
Beaufort,	1723	1766	Forsythe,	1791	1778
Bertie,	1782	1169	Franklin,	2012	2032
Bladen,	1537	1278	Gaston,	1139	1107
Brunswick,	889	746	Gates,	523	1010
Buncombe,	1591	1995	Granville,	3178	2828
Burke,	790	1125	Greene,	943	880
Calarrus,	1054	1499	Guilford,	2233	2280
Caldwell,	442	988	Halifax,	2477	1744
Camden,	524	642	Harnett,	704	1028
Carteret,	701	1026	Haywood,	507	932
Caswell,	1787	1457	Henderson,	836	674
Catawba,	624	1883	Hertford,	1140	983
Chatham,	1884	2206	Hyde,	609	819
Cherokee,	649	722	Iredell,	1616	2389
Chowan,	852	630	Jackson,	261	677
Clay,	187	365	Johnson,	1631	2059
Cleveland,	535	1736	Jones,	800	574
Columbus,	922	1597	Lenoir,	1353	1132
Craven,	2809	1180	Lincoln,	786	913
Cumberland,	2137	2109	Macon,	335	746
Currituck,	364	971	Madison,	1124	954

52 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, R.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Martin,	1287	1408	Rowan,	1377	2035
McDowell,	555	817	Rutherford,	1207	1236
Mecklenburg,	3245	3361	Sampson,	1626	2122
Mitchell,	987	514	Stanley,	575	887
Montgomery,	862	719	Stokes,	1003	1244
Moore,	1367	1476	Surry,	1058	1412
Nash,	1406	1612	Swain,	101	308
New Han'r,	2200	1438	Transylvania,	284	461
Northampton,	2085	1514	Tyrrell,	354	432
Onslow,	537	1085	Union,	824	1516
Orange,	1902	2537	Wake,	4622	4359
Pasquotank,	1059	575	Warren,	2681	1366
Pender,	1234	1007	Washington,	982	602
Perquimans,	992	758	Watauga,	545	712
Person,	1123	1344	Wayne,	2257	2427
Pitt,	1816	2200	Wilkes,	1583	1510
Polk,	420	335	Wilson,	1368	1652
Pamlico,	362	582	Yadkin,	1158	941
Randolph,	1811	2005	Yancey,	443	712
Richmond,	1743	1363			
Robeson,	1990	2235	Totals,	115878	124204
Rockingham,	1539	2403	Majority,		8326

Total vote for President, 1880, 240,082.

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMAN AT LARGE, 1882.

Dockery, R. 111242 | Bennett, D. 111756

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 President.....	91393	67489	22904 R.
1872 Governor.....	98630	96731	1899 R.
1874 Supt. Pub. Inst	84181	98217	14036 D.
1876 President.....	108419	125427	17008 D.
1876 Governor.....	108690	123198	13208 D.
1878 Congress	53069	68263	14894 D.
1880 President.....	115878	124204	8326 D.
1880 Governor.....	115590	121827	6237 D.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 53

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Thomas J. Jarvis; Lieutenant-Governor, James L. Robinson; Secretary of State, William L. Saunders; Attorney-General, Thomas S. Kenan; Treasurer, John M. Worth; Auditor, William P. Roberts; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John C. Scarborough—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	34	68	102
Republicans.....	16	52	68
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	18	16	34

OHIO.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Adams,	2563	2725	Defiance,	1977	3140
Allen,	2906	3890	Delaware,	3508	2963
Ashland,	2752	3217	Erie,	3661	3305
Ashtabula,	6926	2286	Fairfield,	3103	4842
Athens,	3645	2234	Fayette,	2830	2111
Auglaize,	1837	3509	Franklin,	9438	9863
Belmont,	5539	5379	Fulton,	2912	1787
Brown,	3184	4324	Gallia,	3488	2310
Butler,	3831	6206	Geauga,	3053	815
Carroll,	2241	1569	Greene,	4927	2455
Champaign,	4100	2865	Guernsey,	3318	2568
Clarke,	6229	4179	Hamilton,	35173	30122
Clermont,	3073	4417	Hancock,	3124	3350
Clinton,	2937	2167	Hardin,	3472	3032
Columbiana,	6545	4273	Harrison,	2767	2082
Coshocton,	2831	3440	Henry,	1738	2871
Crawford,	2622	4567	Highland,	3648	3490
Cuyahoga,	22123	15130	Hocking,	1830	2422
Darke,	4046	5167	Holmes,	1370	3288

54 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Huron,	4566	3040	Pike,	1756	2192
Jackson,	2763	2031	Portage,	3990	3147
Jefferson,	4434	2945	Preble,	3183	2711
Knox,	3432	3475	Putnam,	1851	3417
Lake,	2978	1104	Richland,	4032	4885
Lawrence,	4627	2862	Ross,	4734	4551
Licking,	4210	5575	Sandusky,	3059	3640
Logan,	3739	2468	Sciota,	3639	2912
Lorain,	5609	2752	Seneca,	4008	4845
Lucas,	7157	5985	Shelby,	2274	3220
Madison,	2680	2305	Stark,	7264	6865
Mahoning,	4943	4044	Summit,	5890	4071
Marion,	2192	2932	Trumbull,	6796	3184
Medina,	3340	2158	Tuscarawas,	4036	4844
Meigs,	4103	2749	Union,	3302	2236
Mercer,	1473	3367	Van Wert,	2634	2572
Miami,	4923	3604	Vinton,	1700	1992
Monroe,	1600	3751	Warren,	4565	2564
Montgomery,	9726	10332	Washington,	4711	4452
Morgan,	2510	2091	Wayne,	4424	4819
Morrow,	2581	2143	Williams,	2881	2596
Muskingum,	5804	5336	Wood,	4305	3441
Noble,	2316	2044	Wyandot,	2398	2981
Ottawa,	1510	2559			
Paulding,	1527	1431	Totals,	375048	340821
Perry,	2676	3187	Majority,	34227	
Pickaway,	2910	3753			

Total vote for President, including 2,616 Prohibition, 724,941.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1883.

Hoadly, D.	359593	Schumacker, P.	8361
Foraker, R.	347064	Jenkins, G.	2785

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 55

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Temp.	Maj.
1872 Sec'y of State. ..	265930	251780	2045	14150 R.
1872 President.....	281852	245484	2100	34268 R.
1873 Governor.....	213837	214654	.....	817 D.
1875 Governor.....	297817	292273	2593	5544 R.
1876 President.....	330098	323182	.....	7516 R.
1876 Sec'y of State....	316872	311098	.....	5774 R.
			Gbk.	
1877 Governor.....	249105	271625	29201	22520 D.
1878 Sec'y of State....	274120	270096	38322	3154 R.
1880 President.....	375048	340821	6456	34227 R.
1881 Governor.....	312735	288426	6330	24309 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, George Hoadly; Lieutenant-Governor, John G. Warwick; Secretary of State, James W. Newman; Auditor, Emil Keisewelter; State Treasurer, Peter Brady; Attorney-General, James Lawrence—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats	22	65	87
Republicans.....	11	41	52
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	11	24	35

OREGON.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Baker,	446	629	Curry,	167	153
Benton,	735	690	Douglas,	1256	1105
Clackamas,	1166	872	Grant,	461	436
Clatsop,	536	434	Jackson,	743	1065
Columbia,	312	228	Josephine,	199	279
Coos,	607	554	Lake,	227	374

56 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Lane,	1012	1092	Union,	664	899
Linn,	1416	1676	Wasco,	1330	1510
Marion,	2050	1386	Washington,	880	578
Multnomah,	3211	2719	Yam Hill,	1056	940
Polk,	771	712			
Tillamook,	134	84	Totals,	20618	19950
Umatilla,	1250	1535	Majority,	668	

Total vote for President, 40813.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS. 1882.

Governor.

Secretary of State.

Moody, R.	21481	Earhart, R.	22052
Smith, D.	20069	Weatherford, D.	19536

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1873 Congress.....	8194	6123	.....	2071 D.
1874 Governor.....	9713	9163	6532	550 D.
1875 Congress.....	9373	9106	837	267 D.
1876 President.....	14158	15208	508	1050 R.
1876 Congress.....	14239	15347	.....	1108 R.
1878 Governor.....	10063	10009	1353	54 D.
1880 President.....	19950	20618	245	668 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Z. F. Moody; Secretary of State, R. P. Earhart; Treasurer, Edward Hirsh; State Printer, W. H. Byars; Superintendent of Public Instruction, L. J. Powell—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	16	38	54
Democrats.....	14	20	34
Independents.....	...	2	2
	—	—	—
Republican maj.....	2	13	18

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 67

PENNSYLVANIA.

	1880.			1876.	
	Carr-Id, R.	Hancock, D.	Waggon, G.	Hayes, R.	Tilden, D.
Adams,	3137	3752	69	2921	2439
Allegheny,	35539	22096	1636	28729	19248
Armstrong,	4721	3991	375	4613	3821
Beaver,	4700	3498	129	3982	2950
Bedford,	3638	3723	53	3210	3532
Berks,	9225	16959	179	8019	15612
Blair,	5808	4728	195	4752	3933
Bradford,	8152	4950	496	8008	1989
Bucks,	8385	8627	23	7722	8023
Butler,	5269	4678	316	5643	4830
Cambria,	3962	4555	150	2989	4257
Cameron,	647	582	27	572	543
Carbon,	2857	3464	88	2758	3106
Centre,	3602	4598	99	3266	4065
Chester,	11298	7524	90	9715	6621
Clanton,	2533	4433	322	3060	4167
Clearfield,	3105	4928	296	2318	4220
Clinton,	2284	3117	36	1809	2974
Columbia,	2236	4598	192	2069	4394
Crawford,	7192	5817	1759	7345	6537
Cumberland,	4431	5162	119	4151	5062
Dauphin,	8573	6619	315	7493	5474
Delaware,	7008	4473	21	5484	3250
Elk,	720	1534	88	534	1330
Erie,	8752	6471	641	8724	6179
Fayette,	4920	6250	609	4379	5594
Forest,	370	325	281	464	385
Franklin,	5379	4964	4	4897	4629
Fulton,	853	1252	.....	821	1100
Greene,	2210	4271	32	1956	3719
Huntingdon,	3787	3039	393	3493	2982
Indiana,	4617	2119	1488	4934	2248
Jefferson,	3770	2635	137	2350	2453

58 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	1880			1876	
	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.	Weaver, G.	Hayes, R.	Tilden, D.
Juniata,	1625	1999	62	1550	2013
Lackawanna,	7357	7178	151	.....	.....
Lancaster,	19489	10789	39	17425	9639
Lawrence,	4360	2047	163	3429	1761
Lebanon,	5042	3218	7	4552	3028
Lehigh,	6144	8292	17	5586	7757
Luzerne,	11028	12575	372	14919	18396
Lycoming,	4955	6416	500	4110	5423
McKean, .	3693	3169	299	1427	1320
Mercer,	6079	5029	490	5508	4587
Mifflin,	2075	1955	25	1716	1892
Monroe,	962	3334	17	776	3280
Montgomery,	11026	11025	75	9385	9654
Montour,	1265	1862	80	1136	1728
Northampton,	5961	9053	93	5311	9271
Northumberland,	4847	5931	319	4268	5064
Perry,	3032	2894	.....	2684	2789
Philadelphia,	97220	76330	237	77088	62138
Pike,	537	1332	10	443	1387
Potter,	1773	1134	255	1621	1280
Schuylkill,	9337	11511	2488	8677	10457
Snyder,	2120	1579	13	1922	1539
Somerset,	4150	2500	55	3784	2336
Sullivan,	625	994	72	592	879
Susquehanna,	5931	3892	256	4823	3885
Tioga,	6018	2815	1151	5892	2729
Union,	2254	1592	11	2154	1489
Venango,	4089	3573	685	3840	3471
Warren,	3207	2118	684	3151	2365
Washington,	6451	5850	330	5896	5323
Wayne,	3122	3421	13	2790	3680
Westmoreland,	7113	7975	899	6217	7466
Wyoming,	1787	1983	38	1679	2026

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 59

York,	7870	11581	9	6827	10403
Totals,	444704	407428	20008	384148	366204
Pluralities,	37276			17944	
Total vote, 1880, for President, 874783.					

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1860.

	Dem.	Rep.	Lib.	MaJ.	
1862 Auditor-General..	219140	215616	.....	3524	D.
1863 Governor	254171	269496	.....	15325	R.
1864 President.....	263967	269679	.....	5712	R.
1865 Auditor-General..	215740	218400	.....	22660	R.
1866 Governor.....	290096	307274	.....	17178	R.
1867 Supreme Court...	267746	266824	.....	922	D.
1868 Auditor-General..	324739	331416	.....	9677	R.
1868 President.....	313382	342280	.....	28898	R.
1869 Governor.....	285956	290552	.....	4596	R.
1871 Auditor-General..	269509	283999	.....	11315	R.
1872 Governor.....	317760	353387	.....	3468	R.
1872 President.....	211841	349589	.....	136118	R.
1873 Treasurer	219471	244823	.....	25352	R.
1874 Lt.-Governor.....	277195	272516	.....	4679	D.
1875 Governor.....	292145	301175	.....	12030	R.
1876 President.....	366204	384148	7204	17944	R.
1876 Congress.....	369638	379428	.....	10000	R.
1877 Treasurer.....	251717	241816	52854	9901	D.
1878 Governor.....	297137	319490	81758	22353	R.
1878 Supreme Judge..	287221	311042	99316	23820	R.
1878 Secretary	301034	313193	81733	12157	R.
1879 Treasurer.....	221715	280153	27207	58438	R.
1880 Auditor-General..	405736	442335	19226	36599	R.
1881 Treasurer.....	258471	265295	14976	6824	R.

RHODE ISLAND.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Bristol,	1039	443	Washington,	2017	1229
Kent,	1759	1153			
Newport,	2064	979	Totals,	18195	10779
Providence,	11316	6975	Majority,	7416	

60 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

Total vote for President, including 20 Prohibition, 29,230.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1883.

Bourne, R.	13078	Cutler, I. D.	706
Sprague, D.	10201	Scattering,	20

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	I. Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	5329	13665	.....	8336 R.
1872 Governor.....	8308	9463	.....	1155 R.
1873 Governor.....	3786	9656	.....	5870 R.
1874 Governor.....	1589	12335	.....	10746 R.
1875 Governor	5166	8368	8724	356 I. R.
1876 President.....	10712	15787	.....	5075 R.
1877 Governor.....	11787	12158	.....	671 R.
1878 Governor.....	7639	11454	.....	3815 R.
1879 Governor.....	5508	9717	.....	4209 R.
1880 President.....	10779	18195	.....	7416 R.
1881 Governor.....	4756	10489	281	5733 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Augustus O. Bourne; Lieutenant-Governor, Henry H. Foy; Secretary of State, Joshua M. Addeman; Attorney-General, Samuel P. Colt; General Treasurer, Samuel Clark—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Republicans.....	30	65	95
Democrats.....	7	17	24
Republican maj.....	23	48	71

SOUTH CAROLINA.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Abbeville,	1576	6452	Anderson,	1253	4312
Aiken,	1476	4731	Barnwell,	2866	6030

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 61

	Garfield, R	Hancock, D		Garfield, R	Hancock, D
Beaufort,	6035	382	Lancaster,	.....	1948
Charleston,	8162	11444	Marion,	2453	4009
Chester,	1114	2922	Marlboro,	1478	2428
Chesterfield,	1073	1925	Newberry,	1219	4572
Clarendon,	1473	2512	Oconee,	516	1931
Colleton,	2112	977	Orangeburg,	2727	3625
Darlington,	2120	4677	Pickens,	491	1682
Edgefield,	1011	6587	Richland,	2957	3335
Fairfield,	1680	3737	Spartanburg,	1840	4911
Georgetown,	622	161	Sumpter,	1629	2352
Greenville,	2088	4242	Union,	751	2965
Horry,	613	2168	Williamsburg,	993	1778
Hampton,	.....	.....	York,	2350	3795
Kershaw,	1695	3021			
Lexington,	1168	2011	Totals,	57966	111236
Laurens,	493	3572	Majority,		53270

Total vote for President, including 547 Greenback, 169,749.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Thompson, D.	67158	Sheppard, D.	67087
McLane, G.-R.	17719	White, G.-R.	17278

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	69838	36553	33285 R.
1872 President.....	72290	22682	49007 R.
1872 Congress.....	76031	19522	56512 R.
1874 Governor.....	80403	68818	11585 R.
1874 Congress.....	79209	62061	17115 R.
1876 Governor.....	91127	92261	1131 R.
1876 President.....	91870	90806	974 R.
1876 Congress.....	91113	91559	416 D.
1878 Congress.....	45081	116917	71836 D.
1880 President.....	57966	111236	53270 D.
1880 Governor.....	4277	117432	113155 D.

62 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Hugh S. Thompson; Lieutenant-Governor, John C. Sheppard; Secretary, James M. Leipscomb; Controller, W. E. Stoney; Attorney-General, Charles R. Miles; Treasurer, John P. Richardson; Superintendent of Education, Asbury Coward—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	30	111	141
Republicans.....	2	6	8
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	28	105	133

TENNESSEE.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Anderson,	1058	574	Dickson,	497	1169
Bedford,	1766	2504	Dyer,	248	1060
Benton,	383	771	Fayette,	3082	2247
Bledsoe,	484	372	Fentress,	511	314
Blount,	.....	.....	Franklin,	357	2187
Bradley,	982	665	Gibson,	.....	.....
Campbell,	1088	314	Giles,	2040	2899
Cannon,	300	1035	Grainger,	1197	870
Carroll,	2208	1820	Greene,	2303	2060
Carter,	1644	405	Grundy,	.....	.....
Cheatham,	291	791	Hamilton,	2460	1595
Claiborne,	1212	967	Hamblen,	1095	848
Clay,	177	567	Hancock,	948	493
Coke,	1608	906	Hardeman,	1409	1566
Coffee,	198	1766	Hardin,	1345	972
Cumberland,	371	287	Hawkins,	.....	.....
Davidson,	6449	7543	Haywood,	3557	1766
Decatur,	413	753	Henderson,	1385	1274
DeKalb,	867	1325	Henry,	1013	2305

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 63

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Hickman,	392	1157	Polk,	362	453
Houston,	127	522	Putnam,	467	1040
Humphreys,	245	1325	Rhea,	427	668
Jackson,	136	1290	Roane,	1628	805
James,	403	209	Robertson,	951	2107
Jefferson,	1807	693	Rutherford,	2482	3855
Johnson,	.....	.....	Scott,	582	127
Knox,	4361	3119	Sequatchie,	119	224
Lake,	28	337	Sevier,	2052	431
Lauderdale,	971	1147	Shelby,	7788	6927
Lawrence,	362	928	Smith,	709	1569
Lewis,	37	200	Stewart,	488	1322
Lincoln,	886	3652	Sullivan,	1207	2264
Landon,	1021	533	Sumner,	1092	2893
Macon,	559	713	Tipton,	1604	1893
Madison,	2223	2834	Trousdale,	.....	.....
McMinn,	1463	1209	Union,	1140	480
McNairy,	949	1135	VanBuren,	60	281
Marion,	.....	.....	Warren,	482	1577
Marshall,	548	2606	Washington,	2104	1576
Maury,	2742	3306	Wayne,	905	649
Meigs,	395	607	Weakley,	.....	.....
Monroe,	919	1181	White,	173	1308
Montgomery,	.....	.....	Williamson,	1541	2733
Morgan,	434	245	Wilson,	1227	2918
Obion,	583	1982			
Overton,	430	1152	Totals,	98700	130381
Perry,	.....	.....	Majority,		31621

Total vote for President, 234,606.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1882.

Bate, D.	109873	Hawkins, R.	80149
Beasley, I.	7246	Fussell, I. D.	4427

64 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	94391	83655	10736 D.
1872 Congress at Large....	103088	80825	22263 D.
1874 Governor.....	103061	55843	47218 D.
1876 Governor.....	123740	73695	50045 D.
1876 President.....	133166	89566	43600 D.
1878 Governor.....	89018	42328	46690 D.
1880 President.....	130381	98760	31621 D.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, William B. Bate; Secretary of State, D. A. Nunn; Treasurer, M. T. Polk; Controller, James M. Nolan; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Leon Trousdale; Commissioner of Agriculture, J. B. Killebrew—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	25	71	96
Republicans.....	8	26	34
Greenbackers.....	...	2	2
Democratic maj.....	17	43	60

TEXAS.

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR, 1882.

Ireland, D.	150890 Jones, G.-I.	102501
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VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 Congress.....	68622	46182	22140 D.
1872 President.....	66155	47426	.....	19029 D.
1873 Governor.....	99984	52353	.....	47631 D.
1875 Governor.....	150581	50000	.....	100581 D.
1876 President.....	104755	41800	.....	59955 D.
1878 Governor.....	158933	23402	55002	80529 D.
1880 President.....	146863	53298	26244	93565 D.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 65

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, John Ireland; Lieutenant-Governor, Marion Martin; Controller, W. J. Spain; Land Commissioner, W. C. Walsh; Treasurer, Frank R. Lubbock; Attorney-General, John D. Templeton—all Democrats.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

Democratic by 78 on joint ballot.

The vote of Texas for President in 1880 was not published by counties, and we therefore can only give the total vote of this State for the Presidential candidates.

VERMONT.

	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.		Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.
Addison,	3842	585	Orleans,	2911	804
Bennington,	2641	1440	Rutland,	5690	2421
Caledonia,	3134	1372	Washington,	3611	1927
Crittenden,	3902	2020	Windham,	4637	1426
Essex,	853	472	Windsor,	6122	1740
Franklin,	3018	1652			
Grand Isle,	397	239	Totals,	45567	18316
Lamoille,	1702	587	Majority,	27251	
Orange,	3107	1631			

Total vote for President, including 105 scattering, 65,203.

VOTE FOR STATE OFFICERS, 1882.

Governor.		Lieutenant-Governor.	
Barstow, R.	35839	Pingree, R.	35856
Eaton, D.	14466	Bullard, D	14442
Martin, G.	1535	Jenne, G.	1534

66 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Rep.	Dem.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 Governor.....	41946	46613	.....	25833 R.
1872 President.....	41487	10947	.....	30540 R.
1874 Governor.....	33582	13258	.....	20324 R.
1876 Governor.....	44723	20088	.....	23735 R.
1876 President.....	44091	20254	.....	23837 R.
1878 Governor.....	37312	17247	2635	20065 R.
1880 President	45567	18316	1215	27251 R.
1880 Governor.....	47848	21245	1578	26003 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, John L. Barstow; Lieutenant-Governor, Samuel E. Pingree; Treasurer, William H. Dubois; Secretary of State, George Nichols; Auditor, E. H. Powell—all Republicans.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

Republican in both Houses.

VIRGINIA.

	Hancock.		Garfield, R.		Hancock.		Garfield, R.
	Dem.	Read.			Dem.	Read.	
Accomac, 1863	335	1155	Bucking-				
Alexandria, 262	2	489	ham,	576	446	842	
Albemarle, 1818	612	1644	Buchanan,	110	162	33	
Allegheny, 200	70	146	Campbell,	1678	55	1241	
Amelia, 279	147	906	Carroll,	1199	153	338	
Amherst, 1821	108	1058	Caroline,	1182	160	1172	
Appomattox,	580	301	460	Charles			
Augusta, 2649	671	1039	City,	233	98	464	
Bath, 199	164	86	Charlotte,	715	239	1190	
Bedford, 2905	148	1888	Chester-				
Bland, 113	375	60	field,	1020	220	955	
Botetourt, 1429	179	596	Clarke,	1013	34	362	
Brunswick, 208	577	1100	Craig,	332	34	47	
			Culpepper,	1094	211	926	

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 67

	Hancock,		Garfield, R.		Hancock,		Garfield, R.
	Dem.	Read			Dem.	Read	
Cumber-land,	418	126	905	Lunenburg,	262	394	840
Dickenson,	13	168	40	Madison,	740	380	479
Dinwiddie,	396	224	1074	Mathews,	684	71	286
Elizabeth City,	468	10	1182	Mecklen- burg,	805	322	2179
Essex,	692	36	935	Middlesex,	509	3	614
Fauquier,	2420	182	1187	Montgomi- cry,	898	415	601
Fairfax,	1512	214	1398	Nansemond,	514	566	958
Floyd,	710	265	345	New Kent,	107	324	361
Fluvanna,	392	251	297	Nelson,	1417	125	910
Franklin,	1922	556	855	Norfolk,	1447	154	2047
Frederick,	1794	411	766	Northamp- ton,	722	48	946
Gloucester,	698	100	832	Northumber- land,	684	20	591
Goochland,	252	201	480	Nottoway,	129	276	1043
Grayson,	716	682	157	Orange,	958	153	880
Greene,	275	386	196	Patrick,	767	442	318
Greensville,	208	266	824	Page,	317	760	149
Giles,	589	228	215	Pittsylv- ania,	3180	206	2624
Halifax,	1838	273	1987	Powhatan,	220	221	668
Hanover,	1179	268	886	Prince Ed- ward,	518	357	1106
Henrico,	1023	157	1032	Prince Ge'rge,	284	161	961
Henry,	691	590	937	Princess An- ne,	656	239	604
Highland,	219	421	75	Prince Wil- liam,	1095	24	459
Isle of Wight,	938	269	731	Pulaski,	579	154	467
James City,	99	142	358	Rappahan- nock,	936	52	379
King Wil- liam,	531	146	792	Richmond,	514	17	651
King and Queen,	656	64	681	Rockbr'ge,	1637	714	854
King Ge'rge,	336	166	514				
Lancaster,	462	37	646				
Lee,	683	595	267				
Loudoun,	2635	145	1792				
Louisa,	829	356	1230				

68 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Hancock, Dem	Roanoke, Rep	Garfield, R		Hancock, Dem	Roanoke, Rep	Garfield, R
Roanoke,	694	380	590	York,	413	50	601
Rock'gham,	1812	1424	600	Cities.			
Russell,	323	635	190	Alex'ndria,	1458	82	994
Scott,	384	510	519	Danville,	741	8	575
Shenan- doah,	1433	1336	350	North Dan- ville,	139	5	96
Southamp- ton,	979	594	1719	Fredericks- burg,	484	48	272
Smyth,	541	573	202	Lynchb'rg,	1376	24	861
Spottsyl- vania,	505	266	576	Manch'ater,	463	51	226
Stafford,	487	421	268	Norfolk,	1448	564	1383
Surry,	436	37	682	Petersburg,	1045	725	1613
Sussex,	380	288	1203	Portsmo'th,	1178	93	1024
Tazewell,	678	674	148	Richmond,	4945	402	2109
Westmore- land,	478	105	603	Staunton,	728	53	361
Warwick,	115	26	287	Winchester,	410	146	392
Wise,	217	251	126	Williams- burg,	58	68	108
Warren,	920	70	143	Totals,	96912	31674	84020
W'shingt'n,	1132	1094	573	Majority,	44556		
Wythe,	891	637	382				

Total vote, 1880, for President, 212606.

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMAN AT LARGE, 1882.

Wise, Readj.	99992	Massey, D.	91184
Dawson, I.			4342

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	91440	93415	1975 R.
1876 Congress.....	139443	96480	42963 D.
1876 President.....	139670	95558	44112 D.
1877 Governor.....	Readj. 101940	4329	97611 D.
1881 Governor.....	111473	99757	..... 11716 Readj.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 69

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, W. E. Cameron; Lieutenant-Governor, John F. Lewis; Attorney-General, Frank S. Blair—all Readjusters.

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	25	64	89
Mahoneites.....	15	36	51
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Democratic maj.....	10	28	38

WEST VIRGINIA.

	Hancock, Garfield, Weaver,				Hancock, Garfield, Weaver,		
	D	R	G		H	D	G
Barbour,	1017	842	251	Lewis,	1217	981	179
Berkeley,	1619	1489	252	Lincoln,	635	251	220
Buone,	508	214	116	Logan,	585	92	.....
Braxton,	1033	518	64	Marion,	1703	1463	350
Brooke,	626	552	59	Marshall,	1596	2186	28
Cabell,	1485	928	57	Mason,	1848	1853	367
Calhoun,	583	330	105	Mercer,	698	55	272
Clay,	226	158	30	Mineral,	922	772	46
Doddridge,	698	771	362	Mononga-			
Fayette,	1263	962	175	lia,	1241	1753	84
Gilmer,	835	464	100	Monroe,	1134	778	68
Grant,	320	611	.....	Morgan,	394	655	.....
Greenbrier,	1533	636	160	McDowell,	242	50	.....
Hampsh're,	1502	329	.....	Nichols,	619	315	43
Hancock,	439	579	10	Ohio,	4066	3901	149
Hardy,	843	213	.....	Pendleton,	760	416	.....
Harrison,	1736	1577	805	Pleasants,	641	470	55
Jackson,	1499	1537	71	Poehontas,	575	258	12
Jefferson,	2025	1018	45	Preston,	1335	2347	156
Kanawha,	2378	2112	1604	Putnam,	830	453	717

70 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Hancock, Garfield, Weaver, D R G				Hancock, Garfield, Weaver, D R G		
Raleigh,	563	309	55	Wayne,	1305	672	7
Randolph,	872	364	46	Webster,	357	74	15
Ritchie,	1008	1238	375	Wetzel,	1720	886	13
Roane,	1185	593	107	Wirt,	769	534	39
Summers,	889	637	98	Wood,	2159	2287	641
Taylor,	1055	1250	104	Wyoming,	245	201	10
Tucker,	340	189	4				
Tyler,	930	1125	119	Totals,	57391	46243	9079
Upshur,	586	995	204	Majority,	11148		

Total vote, 1880, for President, 102713.

VOTE FOR SUPREME JUDGE, 1882.

Snyder, D.	46661	Guthrie, R.-G.	43440
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VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	I.	Dem.	Maj.	
1872 Governor.....	40300	42883	2583	I.	D.
1872 President.....	29537	32283	600	2146	R.	
1874 Congress.....	37823	28874	.....	8949	D.	
1876 Congress.....	56350	43066	.....	13284	D.	
1876 President.....	56565	42001	.....	14504	D.	
1876 Governor.....	56206	43477	.....	12729	D.	
1878 Congress.....	50318	20056	24531	25787	D.	
1880 President.....	57391	46243	9079	11148	D.	
1880 Governor.....	58407	43072	12326	15335	D.	

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Jacob B. Jackson; Secretary of State, Randolph Stalnaker, Jr.; Auditor, Joseph S. Miller; Treasurer, Thomas O'Brien; Attorney-General, C. C. Watts; Superintendent of Schools, B. L. Butcher—all Democrats.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 71

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total
Democrats.....	17	38	55
Republicans.....	8	27	35
Greenbackers.....	1	...	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Democratic maj.....	8	11	19

WISCONSIN.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver.		
	R	D	G.		R	D	G.
Adams,	994	343	40	Jefferson,	3060	3923	82
Ashland,	202	223	.....	Juneau,	1821	1452	120
Barron,	1027	394	9	Kenosha,	1676	1411	.....
Bayfield,	78	86	.....	Kewaunee,	795	1567	.....
Brown,	2681	3034	111	La Crosse,	2730	1995	131
Buffalo,	1588	837	1	La Fayette,	2541	2182	81
Burnett,	369	57	7	Lincoln,	370	262	71
Calumet,	1151	1991	107	Manitowac,	2988	3676	1
Chipp'wa,	1485	1512	198	Marathon,	1025	1977	313
Clark,	1541	671	37	Marinette,	1332	579	.....
Columbia,	3572	2311	36	Marquette,	905	984	19
Crawford,	1415	1459	172	Milwau-			
Dane,	6018	5800	199	kee,	14088	10997	76
Dodge,	3624	5708	168	Monroe,	2427	1913	298
Door,	1357	635	166	Oconto,	1036	822	8
Douglas,	41	76	.....	Outagamie,	2124	3258	300
Dunn,	2421	992	32	Ozaukee,	806	2063	77
Eau Clair,	2336	1520	153	Pepin,	939	296	5
Fond du				Pierce,	2320	850	142
Lac,	4683	4851	471	Polk,	1439	453	1
Grant,	4654	3038	179	Portage,	1952	1534	69
Green,	2740	1526	284	Price,	142	194	.....
Green L'ke,	1764	1170	105	Racine,	3955	2867	72
Iowa,	2674	2310	79	Richland,	2260	1635	151
Jackson,	1841	673	61	Rock,	5741	2646	138

72 VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

	Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. G.				Garfield, Hancock, Weaver, R. D. G.		
St. Croix,	2394	1718	27	Washi'g't'n,	1905	2838	56
Sauk,	3638	2081	169	Waukesha,	3321	2900	101
Shawano,	932	968	40	Waupaca,	2647	1440	283
Sheboygan,	3251	2959	577	Waushara,	2172	509	81
Taylor,	300	274	.....	Winneb'go,	4762	3798	526
Trempea- leau,	2302	675	840	Wood,	912	763	434
Vernon,	2774	1014	525	Totals,	144399	114656	7986
Walworth,	4361	1886	39	Majority,	29743		
Total vote for President, 267041.							

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMEN, 1882.

Republican,	94652	Democratic,	103546
Prohibition,			14116

VOTES OF STATE SINCE 1872.

	Dem.	Rep.	Gbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	86477	104992	.....	18515 R.
1873 Governor.....	81653	66224	.....	15411 D.
1874 Congress.....	94584	91127	.....	357 D.
1875 Governor.....	84315	85155	.....	811 R.
1876 Congress.....	125158	128631	.....	3873 R.
1876 President.....	123926	130067	.....	6141 R.
1877 Governor.....	70482	78753	.....	8271 R.
1878 Congress.....	93253	100737	12882	6784 R.
1879 Governor.....	75023	100539	12098	25516 R.
1881 Governor.....	69797	81754	13225	11957 R.

PRESENT STATE GOVERNMENT.

Governor, J. M. Rusk; Lieutenant-Governor, S. S. Fifield; Secretary of State, E. G. Kinnie; Treasurer, E. C. McFetridge; Attorney-General, L. F. Frisby; State School Superintendent, Robert Graham—all Republicans.

VOTE BY COUNTIES FOR PRESIDENT, 1880. 73

PRESENT STATE LEGISLATURE.

	Senate.	House.	Total.
Democrats.....	15	55	70
Republicans.....	17	43	60
	—	—	—
Democratic maj.....	...	12	10

THE FEDERAL OFFICE-HOLDERS.

Number Employed in the Several Departments of the Government.

Executive Office.....	7
Congress.....	280
State Department.....	419
Treasury Department.....	12130
War Department.....	1861
Post-Office Department.....	52672
Navy Department.....	128
Interior Department.....	2813
Department of Justice.....	2876
Department of Agriculture.....	77
Government Printing-Office.....	1168
	—
Total.....	74431

States.	Electoral V to	1868.		1864.	
		Grant, R.	Seymour, D.	Lincoln, R.	McClellan, D.
Alabama,	10	76366	72086	.....	.....
Arkansas,	6	22152	10078	.....	.....
California,	6	54592	54078	62134	43841
Colorado,	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	6	50996	47951	44691	42285
Delaware,	3	7623	10980	8155	8767
Florida,	4	Electors chosen by Legislature.			
Georgia,	11	57134	102822	.....	.....
Illinois,	21	256293	199143	189096	158730
Indiana,	15	176552	166980	150422	130233
Iowa,	11	120300	74040	89075	40596
Kansas,	5	31047	14049	16441	3691
Kentucky,	12	39569	115889	27786	64301
Louisiana,	8	39263	80225	.....	.....
Maine,	7	70426	42396	6814	46992
Maryland,	8	30438	62357	40153	32739
Massachusetts,	13	136477	59408	126742	48745
Michigan,	11	128550	97009	91521	74604
Minnesota,	5	43542	28072	21060	17375
Mississippi,	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri,	15	85671	59788	72750	31678
Nebraska,	3	9729	5439	.....	.....
Nevada,	3	6180	5218	9826	6504
New Hampshire,	5	38191	31224	36400	32871
New Jersey,	9	80121	83001	60723	68024
New York,	35	410883	429883	368792	361986
North Carolina,	10	96226	84030	.....	.....
Ohio,	22	280128	237800	265154	205568
Oregon,	3	10961	11125	9888	8457
Pennsylvania,	29	342280	313382	296391	276316
Rhode Island,	4	12903	6548	14349	8718
South Carolina,	7	62301	45237	.....	.....
Tennessee,	12	56757	26311	.....	.....
Texas,	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont,	5	44167	12045	42419	13321
Virginia,	11	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia,	5	29025	20306	23152	10438
Wisconsin,	10	108857	84710	83458	65884
Totals,	369	3013188	2703600	2229665	811764

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

75

1860.

States.	Lincoln, R.	Douglas, D.	Breckinridge, D.	Ball, U.
Alabama,	.....	13651	48831	27875
Arkansas,	.....	5227	23732	20004
California,	39173	38516	34334	6817
Colorado,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	43792	15522	14641	3291
Delaware,	3815	1023	7337	3864
Florida,	.....	367	8543	5437
Georgia,	.....	11590	51889	42886
Illinois,	172161	160215	2104	4913
Indiana,	139033	115509	12295	5306
Iowa,	70409	55111	1048	1763
Kansas,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky,	1364	25651	53143	66058
Louisiana,	.....	7625	22681	20204
Maine,	62811	26693	6368	2046
Maryland,	2294	5966	42482	41760
Massachusetts,	106533	34372	5939	22331
Michigan,	88480	65057	805	405
Minnesota,	22069	11920	748	62
Mississippi,	.....	3283	40797	25040
Missouri,	17028	58081	31317	58372
Nebraska,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada,	.....	5801	.....	.....
New Hampshire,	37519	22811	2212	441
New Jersey,	58224	62500	.....	.....
New York,	362646	312731	.....	.....
North Carolina,	.....	.....	48539	44990
Ohio,	231610	18822	11403	12194
Oregon,	5270	3951	5006	183
Pennsylvania,	268030	16765	178871	12776
Rhode Island,	12244	7707	.....	.....
South Carolina,	Electors chosen by Legislature.			.....
Tennessee,	.....	11350	64700	69274
Texas,	.....	.....	47548	15438
Vermont,	33808	6849	218	1969
Virginia,	1929	16290	74323	74681
West Virginia,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin,	86110	65021	888	161
Totals,	1866452	1375157	847953	590631

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT,

December 20, 1883.

PRINCIPAL EXECUTIVE AND DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS OF THE
UNITED STATES.*The Executive.*

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, of New York, President of the United States, salary.....	\$50,000
GEO. F. EDMUNDS, of Vermont, Pres. pro tem. of Senate and Acting Vice-President, salary.....	8,000

The Cabinet.

Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, Secretary of State, salary.....	8,000
Charles J. Folger, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, salary.....	8,000
Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War, salary.....	8,000
William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy, salary.....	8,000
Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, Secretary of the Interior, salary.....	8,000
Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Postmaster-General,* salary.....	8,000
Benjamin Harris Brewster, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General, salary.....	8,000

Principal Officers in the Various Departments.

State Department.

Assistant Secretary—John Davis (1882), Massachusetts; salary, \$4,500.

* Qualified April 11, 1883, succeeding Hon. Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, died March 25, 1883.

Second Assistant Secretary—William Hunter (1866), Rhode Island, \$3,500.

Third Assistant Secretary—Alvey A. Ades (1882), New York, \$3,500.

Treasury Department.

Assistant Secretaries—John C. New (1882), Indiana, \$4,500; Henry F. French (1876), Massachusetts, \$4,500.

Bureau of Engraving and Printing—Truman N. Burrill (1883), New York, \$4,500.

Supervising Architect—Miffin E. Bell (1883), Iowa, \$4,500.

First Comptroller—William Lawrence (1880), Ohio, \$5,000.

Second Comptroller—William W. Upton (1877), Oregon, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Customs—Henry C. Johnson (1874), Pennsylvania, \$4,000.

First Auditor—Robert M. Reynolds (1878), Alabama, \$3,600.

Second Auditor—Orange Ferriss (1880), New York, \$3,600.

Third Auditor—Edwin W. Keightley (1879), Michigan, \$3,600.

Fourth Auditor—Charles Beardsley (1879), Iowa, \$3,600.

Fifth Auditor—DeAlva S. Alexander (1881), Indiana, \$3,600.

Sixth Auditor—Jacob H. Ela (1881), New Hampshire, \$3,600.

Treasurer—Albert U. Wyman (1883), Wisconsin, \$6,000.

Register—Blanche K. Bruce (1881), Mississippi, \$4,000.

Comptroller of the Currency—John J. Knox (1872), Minnesota, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue—Walter Evans (1883), Kentucky, \$6,000.

Solicitor of Internal Revenue—Charles Chesley (1871), New Hampshire, \$4,500.

Director of the Mint—Horatio C. Burchard (1879), Illinois, \$4,500.

Chief of the Secret Service Division—James J. Brooks (1876), Pennsylvania, \$3,500.

Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service—John B. Hamilton (1879), Illinois, \$4,000.

Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels—James A. Dumont (1876), New York, \$3,500.

Solicitor—Kenneth Rayner (1876), Mississippi, \$4,500.

Superintendent Life-Saving Service—Sumner I. Kimball (1878), Marine, \$4,000.

Bureau of Statistics—Joseph Nimmo, Jr. (1878), New York, \$3,000.

War Department.

Adjutant-General—Richard C. Drum (1880), Pennsylvania.*

Inspector-General—Dolos B. Sacket (1881), New York.*

Quartermaster-General—Samuel B. Holabird (1883), Connecticut.*

Commissary-General—Robert Macfeely (1875), Pennsylvania.*

Surgeon-General—Robert Murray (1883), Maryland.*

Paymaster-General—Wm. B. Rochester (1882), New York.*

Chief of Engineers—Horatio G. Wright (1879), Connecticut.*

Chief of Ordnance—Stephen V. Benét (1874), Florida.*

Bureau of Military Justice—David G. Swaim (1881), Ohio.*

Chief Signal Officer—William B. Hazen (1880), Vermont.*

Navy Department.

Bureau of Yards and Docks—Edward T. Nichols (1881), Georgia.*

* Made up of pay and sundry allowances.

Bureau of Navigation—John G. Walker (1881), Iowa.*

Bureau of Ordnance—Montgomery Sicard (1881), Dist. of Columbia.*

Bureau of Provisions and Clothing—Joseph A. Smith (1882), Maine.* †

Bureau of Medicine and Surgery—Philip S. Wales (1879), Maryland.*

Bureau of Construction and Repair—Theodore D. Wilson (1882), New York.*

Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting—Earl English (1878), New Jersey.*

Bureau of Steam Engineering—vacant.

Judge Advocate-General—Wm. B. Remey, U. S. Marine Corps (1878), Iowa, \$3,500.*

Commandant of Marine Corps—Charles G. McCawley (1876), Pennsylvania.*

Post-Office Department.

First Assistant Postmaster-General—Frank Hatton (1884), Iowa, \$4,000.

Second Assistant Postmaster-General—Richard A. Elmer (1881), New York, \$4,000.

Third Assistant Postmaster-General—Abraham D. Hazen (1877), Pennsylvania, \$4,000.

Assistant Attorney-General Post-Office Department—Alfred A. Freeman (1877), Tennessee, \$4,000.

Superintendent of Foreign Mails—

Superintendent of Money-Order System—Charles F. McDonald (1864), Massachusetts, \$3,000.

Interior Department.

Assistant Secretary—Merritt L. Joslyn (1882), Illinois, \$4,000.

Assistant Attorney-General—Joseph K. McCammon (1880), Pennsylvania, \$5,000.

* Made up of pay and sundry allowances.

† Also Paymaster-General.

Commissioner of the General Land Office—Noah C. Macfarland (1881), Kansas, \$4,000.

Commissioner of Pensions—William W. Dudley (1881), Indiana, \$5,000.

Commissioner of the Patent Office—Benjamin Butterworth (1883), Ohio, \$4,500.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs—Hiram Price (1881), Iowa, \$4,000.

Commissioner of Education—John Eaton (1870), Tennessee, \$3,000.

Commissioner of Railroads—William H. Armstrong (1882), Pennsylvania, \$4,500.

Superintendent of the Census—Charles W. Seaton (1881), New York, \$5,000.

Director of Geological Survey—John W. Powell (1881), Illinois, \$6,000.

Architect of the Capitol—Edward Clark (1865), Pennsylvania, \$4,500.

Department of Justice.

Solicitor-General—Samuel F. Phillips (1872), North Carolina, \$7,000.

Assistant Attorneys-General—Thomas Simons (1875), New York, \$5,000; William A. Maury (1882), District of Columbia, \$5,000.

Government Printing Office.

Public Printer—Sterling P. Rounds (1882), Illinois, \$1,500.

Library of Congress.

Librarian—Ainsworth R. Spofford (1865), Ohio, \$4,000.

Department of Agriculture.

Commissioner—George B. Loring (1881), Massachusetts \$4,500.

Government Directors in Union Pacific Railroad Co.
Colgate Hoyt, of New York; Watson Parrish, of Ne-

braska; George G. Haven, of New York; Isaac H. Bromley, of Connecticut; Edward P. Ferry, of Utah.

Civil-Service Commissioners.

Dorman B. Eaton, of New York; John M. Gregory, of Illinois; Leroy D. Thoman, of Ohio. Salary, \$3,500 a year.

Principal Diplomatic Officers.

Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary.

Country	Ministers	Salary
Austria-Hungary,	Alphonso Taft, Ohio,	\$12,000
Brazil,	Thomas A. Osborn, Kan.,	12,000
Central Amer. States,	Henry C. Hall, N. Y.,	10,000
Chili,	Cornelius A. Logan, Ill.,	10,000
China,	J. Russell Young, N. Y.,	12,000
Corea,	Lucius H. Foote, Cal.,	5,000
France,	Levi P. Morton, N. Y.,	17,500
Germany,	Aaron A. Sargent, Cal.,	17,500
Great Britain,	James Russell Lowell, Mass.,	17,500
Italy,	William W. Astor, N. Y.,	12,000
Japan,	John A. Bingham, Ohio,	12,000
Mexico,	Philip H. Morgan, La.,	12,000
Peru,	Seth Ledyard Phelps, D. C.,	10,000
Russia,	William H. Hunt, La.,	17,500
Spain,	John W. Foster, Ind.,	12,000
Turkey,	Lewis Wallace, Ind.,	7,500

Ministers Resident.

Argentine Republic,	Thomas O. Osborn, Ill.,	7,500
Belgium,	Nicholas Fish, N. Y.,	7,500
Colombia,	William L. Scruggs, Ga.,	7,500
Hawaiian Islands,	Rollin M. Daggett, Nev.,	7,500
Netherlands,	William L. Dayton, N. J.,	7,500
Sweden and Norway,	William W. Thomas, Jr., Me.,	7,500
Venezuela,	Jehu Baker, Ill.,	7,500

Ministers Resident and Consuls-General.

Country.	Minister.	Salary.
Bolivia,	Richard Gibbs, N. Y.,	\$5,000
Denmark,	Wickham Hoffmann, N. Y.,	5,000
Greece,	} Eugene Schuyler, N. Y.,	6,500
Roumania,		
Servia,		
Hayti,	John M. Langston, D. C.,	5,000
	(Also Charge d'Affaires to Santo Domingo.)	
Liberia,	John H. Smyth, N. C.,	5,000
Portugal,	John M. Francis, N. Y.,	5,000
Siam,	John A. Halderman, Mo.,	5,000
Switzerland,	Michael J. Cramer, Ky.,	5,000
Persia,	S. G. W. Benjamin, N. Y.,	5,000

Charge D'Affaires.

Paraguay and Uruguay,	William Williams, Ind.,	5,000
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Secretaries of Legation and Consuls-General.

Italy,	Lewis Richmond, R. I.,	3,500
Spain,	Dwight T. Reed, N. Y.,	3,000
Turkey,	G. Harris Heap, Pa.,	3,500

Consuls-General.

Austria-Hungary,	James Riley Weaver, W. Va.,	3,000
Brazil,	O. C. Andrews, Minn.,	6,000
China,	Owen N. Denny, Oreg.,	5,000
France,	George Walker, N. Y.,	6,000
Germany,	{ Mark S. Brewer, Mich.,	4,000
	{ Ferdinand Vogeler, Ohio,	3,000
	{ Hans Mattson, Minn.,	5,000
Great Britain,	{ Wakefield G. Frye, Me.,	3,000
	{ Edwin A. Merritt, N. Y.,	6,000
	{ Oliver M. Spencer, Iowa,	4,500
Japan,	{ Seargent P. Stearns, N. J.,	4,000
	{ Thomas B. VanBuren, N. J.,	4,000
Mexico,	David H. Strother, W. Va.,	2,000

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

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Country.	Minister.	Salary.
Russia,	Edgar Stanton, Ill.,	\$3,000
Spain,	Adam Badeau, N. Y.,	6,000
Turkey,	George P. Pomeroy, N. J.,	5,000

(The Consul General is also agent.)

XLVIIIth CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1883, to March 3d, 1885.

First Session, December 3, 1883.

THE SENATE.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, of Vermont, *President pro tem.*

ANSON G. MCCOOK, of New York, *Secretary.*

[Republicans (in Roman), 38; Democrats (in italics), 36;

Readjusters (in SMALL CAPS), 2; Total, 76.]

Alabama.

Term ex	Home Post-Office.
1885 <i>James L. Pugh</i>	Eufaula.
1889 † <i>John T. Morgan</i>	Selma.

Arkansas.

1885 <i>James D. Walker</i>	Fayetteville.
1889 † <i>Augustus H. Garland</i>	Little Rock.

California.

1885 <i>James T. Farley</i>	Jackson.
1887 <i>John F. Miller</i>	San Francisco

Colorado.

1885 <i>Nathaniel P. Hill</i>	Denver.
1889 * <i>Thomas M. Bowen</i>	Del Norte.

Connecticut.

1885 <i>Orville H. Platt</i>	Meriden.
1887 <i>Joseph R. Hawley</i>	Hartford.

Delaware.

1887 <i>Thomas Francis Bayard</i>	Wilmington.
1889 † <i>Edw. Saulsbury</i>	Dover.

<i>Term ex.</i>	<i>Florida.</i>	<i>Home Post-Office.</i>
1885	<i>Wilkinson Cull</i>	Jacksonville.
1887	<i>Charles W. Jones</i>	Pensacola.

	<i>Georgia.</i>	
1885	<i>Joseph E. Brown</i>	Atlanta.
1889	<i>* Alfred H. Colquitt</i>	Atlanta.

	<i>Illinois.</i>	
1885	<i>John A. Logan</i>	Chicago.
1889	<i>* Shelby M. Cullom</i>	Springfield.

	<i>Indiana.</i>	
1885	<i>Daniel W. Voorhees</i>	Terre Haute.
1887	<i>Benjamin Harrison</i>	Indianapolis.

	<i>Iowa.</i>	
1885	<i>William B. Allison</i>	Dubuque.
1889	<i>* James F. Wilson</i>	Fairfield.

	<i>Kansas.</i>	
1885	<i>John J. Ingalls</i>	Atchison.
1889	<i>† Preston B. Plumb</i>	Emporia.

	<i>Kentucky.</i>	
1885	<i>John S. Williams</i>	Mt. Sterling.
1889	<i>† James B. Beck</i>	Lexington.

	<i>Louisiana.</i>	
1885	<i>Benjamin F. Jonas</i>	New Orleans.
1889	<i>* Randall L. Gibson</i>	New Orleans.

	<i>Maine.</i>	
1887	<i>Eugene Hale</i>	Ellsworth.
1889	<i>† William P. Frye</i>	Lewiston.

	<i>Maryland.</i>	
1885	<i>James B. Groome</i>	Elkton.
1887	<i>Arthur P. Gorman</i>	Laurel.

	<i>Massachusetts.</i>	
1877	<i>Henry L. Dawes</i>	Pittsfield.
1889	<i>† George F. Hour</i>	Worcester.

Michigan.

<i>Term ex.</i>	<i>Home Post Office.</i>
1887 Omar D. Conger.....	Port Huron.
1889 * Thomas W. Palmer.....	Detroit.

Minnesota.

1887 Samuel J. R. McMillan.....	St. Paul.
1889 * Dwight M. Sabin.....	Stillwater.

Mississippi.

1887 James Z. George.....	Jackson.
1889 † Lucius Q. C. Lamar.....	Oxford.

Missouri.

1885 George G. Vest.....	Kansas City.
1887 Francis M. Cockrell.....	Warrensburg

Nebraska.

1887 Charles H. Van Wyck.....	Nebraska City.
1889 * Charles F. Manderson.....	Omaha.

Nevada.

1885 John P. Jones.....	Gold Hill.
1887 James G. Fair.....	Virginia City.

New Hampshire.

1885 Henry W. Blair.....	Plymouth.
1889 * Austin F. Pike.....	Franklin.

New Jersey.

1887 William J. Sewell.....	Camden.
1889 † John R. McPherson.....	Jersey City.

New York.

1885 Elbridge G. Lapham.....	Canandaigua.
1887 Warner Miller.....	Herkimer.

North Carolina.

1885 Zebulon B. Vance.....	Charlotte.
1889 † Matt W. Ransom.....	Weldon.

Ohio.

1885 George H. Pendleton.....	Cincinnati.
1887 John Sherman.....	Mansfield.

Oregon.

<i>Term ex.</i>		<i>Home Post-Office.</i>
1885	<i>James H. Slater</i>	Le Grande.
1889 *	<i>Joseph N. Dolph</i>	Portland.

Pennsylvania.

1885	<i>J. Donald Cameron</i>	Harrisburg.
1887	<i>John I. Mitchell</i>	Wellsboro.

Rhode Island.

1887	<i>Nelson W. Aldrich</i>	Providence.
1889 †	<i>Henry B. Anthony</i>	Providence.

South Carolina.

1885	<i>Wade Hampton</i>	Columbia.
1889 †	<i>Matthew C. Butler</i>	Edgefield.

Tennessee.

1887	<i>Howell E. Jackson</i>	Jackson.
1889 †	<i>Isham G. Harris</i>	Memphis.

Texas.

1887	<i>Sam Bell Maxey</i>	Paris.
1889 †	<i>Richard Coke</i>	Waco.

Vermont.

1885	<i>Justin S. Morrill</i>	Stratford.
1887	<i>George F. Edmunds</i>	Burlington.

Virginia.

1887	<i>WILLIAM MAHONE, Re</i>	Petersburg.
1889 *	<i>H. H. RIDDLEBERGER, Re</i>	Woodstock.

West Virginia.

1887	<i>Johnson N. Camden</i>	Parkersburg.
1889 *	<i>John E. Kenna</i>	Kanawha.

Wisconsin.

1885	<i>Angus Cameron</i>	La Crosse.
1887	<i>Philetus Sawyer</i>	Oshkosh.

* New Senators. † Re-elected.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JOHN G. CARLISLE, of Kentucky, *Speaker*.

JOHN B. CLARK, JR., of Missouri, *Clerk*.

Republicans (in Roman), 118; Regular Democrats (in italics), 196; Readjusters (in SMALL CAPS), 5; Greenback-Labor (in SMALL CAPS), 1; Independents (in SMALL CAPS), 3; vacancy, 2. Total, 325; majority, 103. Representatives in the XLV11th Congress marked with a *; those in a preceding Congress with a †.

Alabama.

- 1 *James T. Jones*, † ¶
- 2 *Hilary A. Herbert*, *
- 3 *William C. Oates*, *
- 4 *Charles M. Shelley*, *
- 5 *Thomas Williams*, *
- 6 *Goldsmith W. Hewitt*, *
- 7 *William H. Forney*, *
- 8 *Luke Pryor*, †

Arkansas.

- 1 *Pinckney Dunn*, *
- 2 *James K. Jones*, *
- 3 *John H. Rogers*,
- 4 *Samuel W. Peel*,

At Large—*Clifton R. Breckinridge*.

California.

- 1 *William S. Roscerans*, *
- 2 *James H. Budd*,
- 3 *Barclay Henley*,
- 4 *Pleasant B. Tully*,

At Large—*Charles A. Sumner*, *John R. Giluscock*.

Colorado.

- James B. Belford*, *

Connecticut.

- 1 *William W. Eaton*, †
- 2 *Charles L. Mitchell*,
- 3 *John T. Wait*, *
- 4 *Edward W. Seymour*,

Delaware.

Charles B. Lorr,

Florida.

- 1 *Robert H. M. Davidson*, *
- 2 *Horatio Bisbee, Jr.*, *

Georgia.

- 1 *John C. Nicholls*, †
- 2 *Henry G. Turner*, *
- 3 *Charles F. Crisp*,
- 4 *Hugh Buchanan*, *
- 5 *Nathaniel J. Hammond*, *
- 6 *James H. Blount*, *
- 7 *Judson C. Clements*, *
- 8 *Seaborn Reese*, *
- 9 *Allen D. Candler*,

At Large—*Thomas Harde-man*, †

Illinois.

- 1 *Ransom W. Dunham*,

- 2 John F. Finerty.
- 3 George R. Davis.*
- 4 George E. Adams.
- 5 Reuben Ellwood.
- 6 Robert R. Hitt.*
- 7 Thomas J. Henderson.*
- 8 William Cullen.*
- 9 Lewis E. Payson.*
- 10 Nicholas E. Worthington.
- 11 William H. Neece.
- 12 James M. Rynga.
- 13 William M. Springer.*
- 14 Jonathan H. Rowell.
- 15 Joseph G. Cannon.*
- 16 Aaron Shaw.
- 17 Samuel W. Moulton.*
- 18 William R. Morrisson.*
- 19 Richard W. Townsend.*
- 20 John R. Thomas.*

Indiana.

- 1 John J. Kleiner.
- 2 Thomas R. Cobb.*
- 3 Strother M. Stockslager.*
- 4 William S. Hobman.*
- 5 Gettland U. Matson.*
- 6 Thomas M. Browne.*
- 7 William E. English.
- 8 John E. Lamb.
- 9 Thomas B. Ward.
- 10 Thomas J. Wood.
- 11 George W. Steele.*
- 12 Robert Lowry.
- 13 William H. Calkins.*

Iowa.

- 1 Moses A. McCoid.*

- 2 Jeremiah H. Murphy.
- 3 David B. Henderson.
- 4 Luman H. Weller.
- 5 James Wilson.†
- 6 John C. Cook.*§
- 7 John A. Kasson.*
- 8 William P. Hepburn.
- 9 William H. M. Posey.
- 10 Adoniram J. Holmes.
- 11 Isaac S. Struble.

Kansas.

- 1 John A. Anderson.*
 - 2 Dudley C. Haskell.*|||
 - 3 Thomas Ryan.*
- At Large*—Edmund N. Morrill, Lewis Hanback, Samuel R. Peters, Bishop W. Perkins.

Kentucky.

- 1 Oscar Turner.*
- 2 James F. Clay.
- 3 John E. Halsell.
- 4 Thomas A. Robertson.
- 5 Albert S. Watts.*
- 6 John G. Crichton.*
- 7 Joseph C. S. Blackburn.*
- 8 Philip R. Thompson, Jr.*
- 9 William W. Culbertson.
- 10 John D. White.*
- 11 Frank L. Wofford.

Louisiana.

- 1 Carlton Hunt.
- 2 E. John Ellis.*
- 3 William P. Kellogg.†
- 4 Newton C. Blanchard.*

5 *J. Floyd King.**

6 *Edward T. Lewis. ¶¶*

Maine.

At Large—Thos. B. Reed,*
Nelson Dingley, Jr.,* Charles
A. Boutelle, Seth L. Mil-
liken.

Maryland.

1 *George W. Covington.**

2 *J. Frederick C. Talbott.**

3 *Feter S. Hohlitzell.**

4 *John V. L. Fendley.*

5 *Hart B. Holton.*

6 *Louis E. McComas.*

Massachusetts.

1 *Robert T. Davis.*

2 *John D. Long.*

3 *Ambrose A. Ranney.**

4 *Patrick A. Collins.*

5 *Leopold Morse.**

6 *Henry B. Lovering.*

7 *Eben F. Stone.**

8 *William A. Russell.**

9 *THEODORE LYMAN. ||*

10 *William W. Rice.**

11 *William Whiting.*

12 *George D. Robinson.**

Michigan.

1 *William C. Maybury.*

2 *Nathanial B. Eldredge.*

3 *Edward S. Lacey.**

4 *George L. Yule.*

5 *Julius Houseman.*

6 *Edwin B. Winans.*

7 *Ezra C. Carleton.*

8 *Roswell G. Horr.**

9 *Byron M. Cutcheson.*

10 *Herschel H. Hatch.*

11 *Edward Breitung.*

Minnesota.

1 *Milo White.*

2 *James B. Wakefield.*

3 *Horace B. Strait.**

4 *William D. Washburn.**

5 *Knute Nelson.*

Mississippi.

1 *Henry L. Muldrow.**

2 *Vacancy.*

3 *Elza Jeffords.*

4 *Hernando D. Money.**

5 *Olho R. Singleton.**

6 *Henry S. Van Eaton.*

7 *Ethelbert Barksdale.*

Missouri.

1 *William H. Hatch.**

2 *Armistead M. Alexander.*

3 *Alexander M. Dockery.*

4 *James N. Burges.*

5 *Alexander Graves.*

6 *John Cosgrove.*

7 *Aylett H. Buckner.**

8 *John J. O'Neill.*

9 *James O. Broadhead.*

10 *Martin L. Gandy.**

11 *Richard P. Bland.**

12 *Charles H. Morgan. †*

13 *Robert W. Fyan.*

14 *Lowndes H. Davis.**

Nebraska.

- 1 Archibald J. Weaver.
- 2 James Laird.
- 3 Edward K. Valentine.*

Nevada.

George W. Cassidy.*

New Hampshire.

- 1 Martin A. Haynes.
- 2 Ossian Ray.*

New Jersey.

- 1 Thomas M. Ferrell.
- 2 J. Hart Brewer.*
- 3 John Kean, Jr.
- 4 Benjamin F. Howey.
- 5 William Walter Phelps.†
- 6 William H. F. Fiedler.
- 7 William McAdoo.

New York.

- 1 Perry Belmont.*
- 2 William E. Robinson.*
- 3 Darwin R. James.
- 4 Felix Campbell.
- 5 Nicholas Muller.†
- 6 Samuel S. Cox.*
- 7 William Dorsheimer.
- 8 John J. Adams.
- 9 John Hardy.*
- 10 Abram S. Hewitt.*
- 11 Orlando B. Potter.
- 12 Waldo Hutchins.*
- 13 John H. Ketcham.*
- 14 Lewis Beach.*
- 15 John H. Bayley, Jr.†
- 16 Thomas J. Van Alstyne.

17 Henry G. Burleigh.

18 Frederick A. Johnson.

19 Abraham X. Parker.*

20 Edward Wemple.

21 George W. Ray.

22 Charles R. Skinner.*

23 J. Thomas Spriggs.

24 Newton W. Nutting.

25 Frank Hiseock.*

26 Sereno E. Payne.

27 James W. Wadsworth.*

28 Stephen C. Millard.

29 John Arnot.

30 Halbert S. Greenleaf.

31 Robert S. Stevens.

32 William F. Rogers.

33 Francis B. Brower.

At Large—Henry W. Slacum.†

North Carolina.

1 Thomas G. Skinner.†††

2 James E. O'Hara.

3 Wharton J. Green.

4 William R. Cox.*

5 Alfred M. Scales.*

6 Clement David.*

7 TYRE YORK, Ind.

8 Robert R. Vance.*

At Large—Risden T. Bennett.

Ohio.

1 John F. Follett.

2 Isaac M. Jordan.

3 Robert M. Murray.

4 Benjamin Le Fevre.*

- 5 *George E. Seney.*
- 6 *William D. Hill.* †
- 7 *Henry L. Morey.**
- 8 *J. Warren Keifer.**
- 9 *James S. Robinson.**
- 10 *Frank H. Hurd.* †
- 11 *John W. McCormick.*
- 12 *Alphonso Hart.*
- 13 *George L. Converse.**
- 14 *George W. Geddes.**
- 15 *Adoniram J. Warner.* †
- 16 *Beriah Wilkins.*
- 17 *Joseph D. Taylor.* ||||
- 18 *William McKinley, Jr.**
- 19 *Ezra B. Taylor.**
- 20 *David R. Paige.*
- 21 *Martin A. Foran.*

Oregon.

Melvin C. George.*

Pennsylvania.

- 1 *Henry H. Bingham.**
- 2 *Charles O'Neill.**
- 3 *Samuel J. Randall.**
- 4 *William D. Kelley.**
- 5 *Alfred C. Harmer.**
- 6 *James B. Everhart.*
- 7 *I. Newton Evans.* †
- 8 *Daniel Ermentrout.**
- 9 *A. Herr Smith.**
- 10 *William Mutchler.**
- 11 *John B. Storm.* †
- 12 *Daniel W. Connolly.*
- 13 *CHARLES N. BRUMM, Gbk.**
- 14 *Samuel F. Barr.**
- 15 *George A. Post.*

- 16 *William W. Brown.*
- 17 *Jacob M. Campbell.**
- 18 *Louis E. Atkinson.*
- 19 *William A. Duncan.*
- 20 *Andrew G. Curtin.**
- 21 *Charles E. Boyle.*
- 22 *James H. Hopkins.* †
- 23 *Thomas M. Bayne.**
- 24 *George M. Lawrence.* †
- 25 *John D. Patton.*
- 26 *Samuel H. Miller.**
- 27 *Samuel M. Brainerd.*

At Large—Mort. F. Elliott.

Rhode Island.

- 1 *Henry J. Spooner.**
- 2 *Jonathan Chace.**

South Carolina.

- 1 *Samuel Dibble.**
- 2 *George D. Tillman.**
- 3 *D. Wyatt Aiken.**
- 4 *John H. Evins.**
- 5 *John J. Hemphill.*
- 6 *George W. Dargan.*
- 7 *Edmund W. M. Mackey.**

Tennessee.

- 1 *Augustus H. Pettibone.*
- 2 *Leonidas C. Houk.**
- 3 *George G. Dibrell.**
- 4 *Benton McMillin.**
- 5 *Richard Warner.**
- 6 *Andrew J. Caldwell.*
- 7 *John G. Ballentine.*
- 8 *John M. Taylor.*
- 9 *Rice A. Pierce.*
- 10 *Cassey Young.* †

Texas.

- 1 Charles Stewart.
- 2 John H. Reagan.*
- 3 James H. Jones.
- 4 David B. Culberson.*
- 5 James W. Throckmorton. †
- 6 Olin Wellborn.*
- 7 THOS. P. OCHILTREE, *Ind.*
- 8 James F. Miller.
- 9 Roger Q. Mills.*
- 10 John Hancock. †
- 11 Samuel W. T. Lanham.

Vermont.

- 1 John W. Stewart.
- 2 Luke P. Poland. †

Virginia.

- 1 ROBERT M. MAYO, *Re.*
- 2 HARRY LIBBEY, *Re.*
- 3 George D. Wise.*
- 4 BENJAMIN S. HOOPER, *Re.*
- 5 George C. Cabell.*

6 John Randolph Tucker.*

7 Vacancy. §§

8 John S. Barbour.*

9 HENRY BOWEN, *Re.*At Large—JOHN S. WISE,
*Re.**West Virginia.*

- 1 Nathan Goff, Jr.
- 2 William L. Wilson.
- 3 Charles P. Snyder. §§§
- 4 Eustace Gibson.

Wisconsin.

- 1 John Winans.
- 2 Daniel H. Sumner.
- 3 Burr W. Jones.
- 4 Peter V. Deuster.*
- 5 Joseph Rankin.
- 6 Richard Guenther.*
- 7 Gilbert M. Woodward.
- 8 William T. Price.
- 9 Isaac Stephenson.

Appendix B.

DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PRESIDENT.

Statement of the Duties and Privileges of the President—How he is chosen—The Inauguration—Reminiscences of the Inaugurations in Washington—An interregnum in the Government—Inauguration of Abraham Lincoln—What it costs the President to live—Lemonade in the White House—A poorly-paid Official—The President's Title—His Visitors—His Enemies—Difficulties of his Position—The Cabinet—The White House—Description of it—Internal Arrangements—The East Room—The State Apartments—The Private Apartments—The Etiquette of the White House—"Who's who" in Washington—Rules for social intercourse among Officials—The President's Levees—The Scene in the East Room—The Comicalities of a Levee—The New Year Receptions—A brilliant Scene—The State Dinners—How they are conducted and what they cost—That "wonderful Steward"—Description of a State Dinner—The Sorrows of the White House—Who have died there—The daily Life of the President—A busy Life—Social Evenings at the White House—An independent President.

THE Constitution of the United States requires that "the Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator, or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit

under the United States, shall be appointed an elector. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the represen-

tation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose, to consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice: and if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President elected by the Senate shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

“The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

"No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

"In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

"The President shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

"Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I

will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.' "

The President is, by virtue of his office, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and of the Militia of the several States, when in the active service of the United States. He has the power to pardon and grant reprieves, except in cases of impeachment. He appoints all officials of the Government, and, constitutionally, has the power to remove them when he deems it his duty to do so. He negotiates treaties with foreign Powers, and conducts the official intercourse of this Government with them. He executes, or causes to be executed, the laws of Congress, and from time to time lays before that body such information as he deems proper, respecting the state of the country, and recommends such measures as he judges necessary and expedient.

THE INAUGURATION.

The President enters upon his duties on the fourth of March next following his election by the people. The Constitution merely requires him to take the oath already given, but does not prescribe the hour, place, or manner of taking it, and there is no law of Congress regulating the inaugural ceremo-

nies. The oath of office could be legally administered by any magistrate, but it is usual for the Chief-Justice of the United States to act upon such occasions.

Owing to the absence of any set form for the inaugural ceremonies, different customs have prevailed at different times. A review of these will be entertaining.

George Washington was first inaugurated President in New York City, on the 1st of May, 1789. He was escorted from his residence in Broad Street to the City Hall, which occupied the site of the present U. S. Sub-Treasury, where Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office to him in the presence of the people. In 1793, he entered upon his second term by taking the oath in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of the two Houses of Congress and other dignitaries. John Adams was inaugurated in 1797, by taking the oath of office in the House of Representatives, at noon on the 4th of March. He delivered an inaugural address from the Speaker's Chair before taking the oath.

Thomas Jefferson was the first President inaugurated in the City of Washington. He delivered an inaugural address, and took the oath of office in the Senate Chamber at noon on the 4th of March, 1801. He delivered no address upon the occasion of his second in-

inauguration, but merely subscribed to the oath in the presence of Chief-Justice Marshall, and Judges Patterson, Cushing, and Washington of the Supreme Court. James Madison took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the 4th of March, 1809, and on the occasion of his second inauguration was merely sworn in at the Capitol by Chief-Justice Marshall.

Upon the election of Mr. Monroe, in 1816, it was resolved to make the inaugural ceremonies more imposing. On the 4th of March, 1817, the Vice-President was first sworn in, and then Mr. Monroe appeared on an elevated platform in front of the Capitol, delivered his inaugural address, and took the oath of office, which was administered by the Chief-Justice in the presence of an immense multitude. A salute of artillery was then fired, and the new President retired to the White House. When re-elected, Mr. Monroe could not be sworn into office on the 4th of March (1821), as that day happened to fall upon Sunday. As no legal oath can be administered on Sunday, the inauguration was postponed until the 5th, which proved a very tempestuous day. Mr. Monroe then simply took the official oath before Chief-Justice Marshall. On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams deliv-

ered his inaugural, and took the oath of office in the Hall of the House of Representatives. On the 4th of March, 1829, Andrew Jackson delivered his inaugural address from the eastern portico of the Capitol, and took the oath of office in the presence of an immense multitude. On the occasion of his second inauguration, four years later, the ceremonies were conducted in the Hall of Representatives. Martin Van Buren was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837. The Vice-President was first sworn in, when he took the Chair as Presiding Officer of the Senate. At noon, Mr. Van Buren, accompanied by General Jackson, the retiring President, entered the Senate Chamber, from which the party repaired to the east portico of the Capitol, in front of which an immense multitude had gathered. Here Mr. Van Buren delivered his inaugural address, and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief-Justice Taney. On the 4th of March, 1841, General Harrison left his quarters, mounted on a magnificent white war-horse, and was escorted to the Capitol by a brilliant throng. He at once repaired to the Senate Chamber, where the new Vice-President, John Tyler, had been sworn in. Repairing to the eastern portico, he delivered his inaugural, after which the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. General Harrison sur-

vived his election only a few weeks. He was succeeded by Mr. Tyler, the Vice-President, who, although he deemed his oath as Vice-President a sufficient qualification for his new position, yet immediately took the Presidential oath before the Chief Judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. James K. Polk was inaugurated in 1845, with an imposing display, the Vice-President, George M. Dallas, being first sworn in. The ceremonies took place in the eastern portico of the Capitol, and were followed by a levee at the White House. General Taylor was inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1848, the 4th chanceing to fall upon a Sunday, and making the second day in the history of the country when the Republic has been without a President. He delivered his inaugural from the east portico, and took the oath before Chief-Justice Taney, with the usual ceremonies. General Taylor died July 9, 1850, and on the 11th Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President, took the Presidential oath in the House of Representatives.

Upon arriving in Washington for the purpose of entering upon the duties of his office, General Pierce took lodgings at Winland's Hotel. On the 4th of March, 1853, he was waited upon by the retiring President, Mr. Fillmore, and the Hon. Jesse D. Bright and Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, who had been ap-

pointed a Committee for that purpose by Congress, and was conducted to the Capitol by a splendid escort, in which detachments of the regular troops of the United States and a force of Volunteers took part. He delivered his inaugural, and took the oath before Chief-Justice Taney, from the east portico, after which he held a levee at the White House. On the 4th of March, 1857, James Buchanan was escorted from his lodgings at Willard's Hotel to the Capitol, where the oath was administered to him in the Senate Chamber, by the Hon. James M. Mason, President *pro tem.* of the Senate. Mr. Buchanan then repaired to the east portico, where he delivered his inaugural address in the presence of an immense multitude.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President. Rumors of plots to assassinate him were so plentiful, that it became advisable for him to pass through the State of Maryland with the utmost secrecy. He reached Washington in this way before any one but his most trusted friends were aware of his movements. Threats against his life were openly made after his arrival, and it became necessary to station a strong force of regular troops throughout the city, so as to make sure of the preservation of order and peace. The

military arrangements were directed by General Scott in person. Mr. Lincoln was conducted to the Capitol with great display. He was received by the Senate, and escorted to the east portico, where he delivered his address, and took the oath before Chief-Justice Taney. His second inauguration, March 4, 1865, was accompanied with one of the finest displays ever witnessed in Washington. The ceremonies took place in the east portico of the Capitol. The morning was dark and lowering, but as the President placed himself in front of the venerable Chief-Justice to pronounce the solemn vow, the sun burst from behind the heavy clouds, and shone down upon him with all its brilliancy.

Mr. Lincoln, during whose administration our great Civil War was fought, and who had issued his illustrious proclamation emancipating the slaves, was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, receiving 2,213,665 votes against 1,802,237 for his opponent, General George B. McClellan. The total number of electoral votes counted was 233, of which Lincoln and Johnson received 212, and their opponents, General George B. McClellan and George Pendleton, but 21. It must be remembered, though, that the States then in rebellion were not represented in the Electoral College. Mr. Lincoln's second in-

augural address closed with this now famous passage: "With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all the nations."

On the 3d of March, 1865, the Confederates attempted to open peace negotiations with General Grant, but President Lincoln instructed him to have no conference with General Lee, the Chief Commander of the Confederate army, unless it should be for the capitulation of Lee's army, and forbade him to decide, discuss, or confer on any political question. On the day after the evacuation and surrender of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, Mr. Lincoln entered it, accompanied by his son Robert (now Secretary of War under President Arthur), Admiral Porter, and a few sailors. On the evening of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, he visited Ford's Theatre, at Washington, in company of Mrs. Lincoln and some personal friends. A few minutes past ten o'clock an actor, John Wilkes Booth, entered the private box, approached President Lincoln from behind, placed a pistol close to his

head, and fired. He then leaped from the box upon the stage, exclaimed, "Sic semper tyrannis!" and escaped. The next morning, shortly after seven o'clock, President Lincoln expired. At the same hour when Mr. Lincoln was shot, the Secretary of State Seward was attacked in his house, and soon it became apparent that a terrible conspiracy had been entered to murder simultaneously nearly all the chief officers of the United States Government. Booth was hunted down and killed by his pursuers, and eight persons were tried for this conspiracy by a military commission. Four of them (including a woman) were hanged, while three were sentenced to Dry Tortugas for life, and one for six years. One died there: the others were pardoned by Mr. Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth President of the United States. On the 15th day of April, 1865, on the death of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Johnson took the oath of office as President of the United States. His conciliatory policy towards the States formerly in rebellion, his vetoing of the Civil Rights Bill and of an Act for the extension of the Freedmen's Bureau, both of which were passed over the veto though, soon brought on a hostility between himself and the majority of Congress, which finally resulted in his impeachment for high crimes and mis-

demeanor in office. The impeachment resolution was passed by the House of Representatives (yeas, 126; nays, 47; not voting, 17). The articles of impeachment were presented to the United States Senate on March 5, 1868; the trial began on March 23, and in May President Johnson was acquitted, 35 voting guilty, and 19 not guilty—a two-thirds majority being required to convict. On December 25, 1868, he issued a proclamation granting a full pardon to everybody who had participated in the rebellion.

On March 4, 1869, he was succeeded in the Presidential office by General Ulysses S. Grant, one of the most illustrious commanders of the War of the Rebellion. It was he who fought some of the bloodiest battles of the war, and who forced the surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court-House, April 9, 1865. After the war General Grant fixed his headquarters at Washington, D. C. On July 25, 1866, he was commissioned full General of the Army, a rank especially created for him. From August 12, 1867, to January 14, 1868, during the suspension of Stanton by President Johnson, he acted as Secretary of War.

At the Republican National Convention in Chicago, General Grant was nominated for President, with Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President. They carried 26 States, and re-

ceived 214 electoral votes, against 80 for Seymour and Blair. President Grant was inaugurated on March 4, 1869, and, as he was in political harmony with the Republican majority in Congress, the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion went on. During his first administration a court of arbitration, convened at Geneva in 1872, awarded \$15,500,000 to be paid by the British Government to the United States, as a compensation for damages inflicted on American shipping and commerce by rebel cruisers built and fitted out in England.

At the National Republican Convention held in Philadelphia, President Grant was renominated, with Henry Wilson for Vice-President. They received 268 electoral votes, against 80 for other candidates. Grant's majority over Horace Greeley was 762,991 votes.

The National Convention held in Cincinnati in June, 1876, nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, on the seventh ballot, for the Presidency. He received a popular vote of about 4,033,000 votes, while for his Democratic opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, 4,284,000 votes were cast. In several States the electoral vote was claimed for each candidate. To decide upon these questions Congress created an Electoral Commission, consisting of five Sen-

ators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the United States Supreme Court. The count of the electoral vote was begun on February 1, 1877. The Commission declared that it could not go behind the returns, and on March 2 it was declared, by 8 to 7 votes of the Electoral Commission, that Hayes had received 185 and Tilden 184 votes. The former was, therefore, inaugurated on March 5, 1877. This administration is devoid of occurrences of great importance.

The Republican National Convention held in Chicago in 1880 nominated, on the thirty-sixth balloting, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. The Presidential election of 1880 was held on the 2d of November, and the popular vote was as follows: For James A. Garfield (Republican), 4,437,345; for Winfield S. Hancock (Democrat), 4,135,015; for J. B. Weaver (Greenback), 305,831. General Garfield thus obtained a majority of 2330 of the popular vote. The electoral vote was as follows: For Garfield, 214; for Hancock, 155; thus giving Garfield a majority of 59 votes in the electoral college. On March 4, 1881, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence; 50,000 strangers visited Washington City on this occasion.

Very soon after entering upon his duties, President Garfield found that the Executive Chair was by no means a bed of roses. The Republican party soon divided into two sections, one supporting the President, and the other, known as the "Stalwarts," opposing him. A bitter partisan contest set in, and prolonged the executive session of the Senate to a very late day. The quarrel was fiercest over the appointment of a new Collector for the port of New York, and culminated in the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, of that State. The resignation was based upon the ground that the President had nominated the Collector for the port of New York without consulting or yielding to the wishes of the Senators from that State, the said Senators in effect claiming the right to dictate what appointments should or should not be made in that State. The President, however, having with him the support of the great mass of the nation, without regard to party, pursued with unshaken firmness the course he had determined upon. After the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, the nomination of Mr. Robertson was confirmed by the Senate, the highest legislative body in the Union thus uniting with the majority of the citizens of the country in approving the course of the President.

As the time wore on, President Garfield gained steadily in the esteem of the people. His purpose to give to the country a fair and just administration of the government became every day more apparent, and his high and noble qualities became each day more conspicuous. People began to feel for the first time in many years that the Executive Chair was occupied by a man capable of conceiving a pure and noble standard of duty, and possessed of the firmness and strength of will necessary to carrying it out. The country was prosperous, and there was every reason to expect a continuance of the general happiness.

Soon after the opening of President Garfield's administration, the Postmaster-General discovered that certain contracts for carrying the mails on what are known as "the Star Routes" were fraudulent, and the persons interested in them were robbing the government of immense sums of money. The President, Postmaster-General and Attorney-General, sustained by the other members of the Cabinet, resolved to bring the criminals to justice. The latter, being men of wealth and position, bitterly resented the course of the government, and violently denounced it. Nevertheless, the President firmly pursued what he deemed his duty, and the criminals were only prevented from

being brought to speedy trial and conviction by the conclusion of the term of the court.

During the late spring and early summer the President suffered a severe affliction in the serious illness of his wife from malarial fever, which came near resulting fatally. The White House is situated in the most unhealthy section of Washington City, and its inmates are every summer forced to retreat to a purer atmosphere. As soon as Mrs. Garfield was able to be moved, she was taken to Long Branch, where she speedily recovered.

On the morning of the 2d of July, the President, with several members of his Cabinet, including Secretary Windom, Secretary Hunt, and Postmaster-General James, and a considerable party of friends, with quite a number of ladies, started on a tour through the New England States. During the trip the President intended to be present at the commencement exercises of his *alma mater*, Williams College, in Massachusetts. The party arrived at the Baltimore and Potomac depot in Washington in advance of the President, who reached the depot shortly after with Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, who came simply to see him off and say good-bye. In passing through the waiting-room at the station the Pres-

ident was fired at twice, and fell terribly wounded. The shooting occurred at 9.20, and the assassin was Charles Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, whose whole antecedents tended to prove that his mental powers were impaired. On the 19th day of September, at thirty-five minutes after ten o'clock, death ended the terrible sufferings of President James A. Garfield, at Elberon, near Long Branch, New Jersey.

When the President passed away there were eleven persons in the room, which is by no means large, and must therefore have seemed crowded. The narrow surgical bed was in the centre of the room, with the head toward the south. It had a white counterpane on it, and the pillow was not high. The gas from one of the side brackets, which had been low, was turned up, so that everything was in light. Colonel Rockwell, tall and military-looking, with large features and a moustache just turning gray, stood at one corner of the head of the bed, and General Swain, short and stout and robust in appearance, stood at the other. Dr. Bliss stood on the right-hand side of the bed, near the President's head, almost touching Colonel Rockwell, and Mrs. Garfield's position was immediately opposite, on the left-hand side, very near to General Swain. Dr. Agnew was also on the right-hand side, a

little below Dr. Bliss. Mrs. Rockwell was at the foot of the bed, a little to the left, and Master Rockwell stood a little at her back. Mollie Garfield, with her face in her pocket-handkerchief, and with Lulu Rockwell's arm around her waist, stood on the line between the right-hand corner of the foot of the bed and the north-eastern angle of the room, which contains a high dresser over a large old-fashioned fireplace. Private Secretary Brown stood on the line of the foot of the bed, back toward the wall, and the colored waiter stood in the doorway, which is in the north-west corner. Everything was to some extent duplicated by reflection in the plate-glass mirror-door of a wardrobe a little at one side from the south-west angle of the room. The ladies in the room had hastily dressed, and wore wraps thrown loosely across their shoulders. Every one was standing up, and, with the exception of Mollie Garfield, for a time every one's gaze was fastened on the patient's face, watching the shadows steal across it. No word was spoken until Dr. Bliss, after stooping down and feeling for the pulse and placing his ear against the heart, crossed the hands on the then inanimate breast, arose, lifted his right hand, pointing upward as toward a spirit that had taken flight, and turning his back upon the bed stood with

folded arms. As Mrs. Garfield dropped upon her knees by the bedside every one withdrew, leaving her and her daughter there alone.

The arrangements for the funeral were prepared under the supervision of the Attorney-General, Hon. Wayne McVeagh. It was decided to leave Elberon on the morning of the 21st, on the special train that had brought the President and his family to Long Branch. Upon reaching Washington the remains were conducted to the Capitol, where they laid in state in the rotunda until the 23d, when the special train conveyed them direct to Cleveland, Ohio, there to remain in state until Monday, the 26th, when they were buried in Lake View Cemetery, the spot chosen for the interment.

The funeral was one of the grandest and most imposing ever witnessed in the United States. All along the route immense crowds gathered in the streets and at the stations. From the moment the funeral train left Long Branch until its arrival at Cleveland it passed through an almost steady line of people. The expressions of grief were universal.

Immediately after the death of President Garfield, the members of the Cabinet present at Elberon united in the following telegram to the Vice-President:

"HON. CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

"No. 123 Lexington Ave., New York:

"It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield, and to advise you to take the oath of office without delay. If it concurs with your judgment, we will be very glad if you will come down on the earliest train to-morrow morning.

"WILLIAM WINDOM,

"Secretary of the Treasury.

"WILLIAM H. HUNT,

"Secretary of the Navy.

"THOMAS L. JAMES,

"Postmaster-General.

"WAYNE McVEAGH,

"Attorney-General.

"L. J. KIRKWOOD,

"Secretary of the Interior."

The Vice-President immediately replied as follows:

"New York, September 19.

"HON. WAYNE MACVEAGH,

"Attorney-General, Long Branch:

"I have your telegram, and the intelligence fills me with profound sorrow. Express to Mrs. Garfield my deepest sympathies.

"CHESTER A. ARTHUR."

In accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, General Arthur decided to take the oath without delay, and Judges Brady and Donohoe, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, were at once sent for. Judge Brady arrived at the residence of the Vice-President, in company with Messrs. Rollins and Root, at ten minutes before two, but the ceremony was, out of courtesy, deferred until Judge Donohoe's arrival, at a little after two o'clock, with ex-Commissioner French. On Judge Donohoe's arrival General Arthur rose from his seat in the library and advanced to the front parlor. It is a large room. The carpet is soft and deep and of a dark tint. Heavy curtains to match the carpeting hang from the large French windows. Oil paintings by old masters hang from the walls. Despatches, books and writing materials were scattered over the large table that stands in the centre. General Arthur stood behind this table, facing the window. He had regained his composure, and his eye was clear and his manner dignified. The gas in the library was burning dimly, and his fine, tall form stood out grandly from the dark background. Old allegorical pictures loomed out from the darkness—pictures of conquests and of triumphs, of defeat and despair—and above all was the white marble bust of Henry Clay. Judge Brady stood

on the other side of the table, facing General Arthur. Grouped around the two men were Judge Donohoe, Elihu Root, Commissioner French, Daniel G. Rollins and General Arthur's son. Judge Brady slowly advanced a step, and slowly raised his right hand. General Arthur did likewise. A moment of impressive silence followed. General Arthur's features were almost fixed. Then Judge Brady administered the oath. General Arthur, speaking in a clear, ringing voice, said:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

After this he remained standing a moment longer, his hand still raised. No one spoke, nor did the President afterward give expression to any emotion.

Soon after this President Arthur sent the following telegram to the members of the Cabinet:

"NEW YORK, September 20.

"I have your message announcing the death of President Garfield. Permit me to renew through you the expression of sorrow and sympathy which I have already telegraphed to Attorney-General MacVeagh. In accordance with your suggestion, I have

taken the oath of office as President before the Hon. John R. Brady, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. I will soon advise you further in regard to the other suggestion in your telegram.

"C. A. ARTHUR."

Early on the morning of the 20th, President Arthur left New York for Long Branch. He reached that place at 1.15 p. m., and drove at once to Attorney-General MacVeagh's cottage. After an informal conference with the members of the Cabinet, the President walked over to Elberon Cottage and left a card of sympathy for Mrs. Garfield. He then returned to New York. On the 21st he again returned to Long Branch, took part in the funeral ceremonies at Elberon, and accompanied the funeral train to Washington, where he became the guest of Senator Jones. During the remainder of the day and evening he remained in strict seclusion.

Early on the morning of the 22d the members of the Cabinet repaired to the residence of Senator Jones to call on the President. During the forenoon a number of the members of the two Houses of Congress called to pay their respects. This was ended at half-past eleven, and a little later the President and Cabinet went over to the east

front of the Senate wing of the Capitol, which they entered, then went directly to the room of the Vice-President, the magnificent marble chamber north of the Senate Chamber. When they went in, nobody outside of their circle who saw them seemed to know what was on foot. It was not until the Chief-Justice of the United States, clad in his dark robes of office, was seen approaching from the main corridor that it was guessed that the President was about to go through the formality of taking the oath of office as President at the hands of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. This was considered but a formality, as Mr. Arthur had been sworn in New York early on Tuesday morning. It was thought by the Cabinet, however, that it would be as well to follow a custom which had been established by having the oath administered by the highest judicial officer in the country. The scene when the oath was taken was impressive in the extreme. At the right of the President stood Senator Jones and Speaker Sharpe, of New York. Ex-President Hayes was a conspicuous figure well in the foreground, with General Grant but a few steps behind. All of the Cabinet were present. Of the Senators there were present Hale, Jones, Sherman, Dawes and Anthony, and Representatives Hiscock, McCook, Townsend

and others. During the ceremony ex-President Hayes sat near ex-President Grant. The administration of the oath was followed by the President's brief inaugural, which he read from manuscript.

Secretary Blaine was the first one to grasp the President's hand when he had finished reading his address. The Secretary was followed by members of the Cabinet and by others present. There were about forty witnesses in the room. An important Cabinet meeting followed the ceremonies. This meeting lasted nearly an hour. The first official act of the new President was then performed. It was the issuance of a proclamation designating Monday, September 26th, as a day of humiliation and prayer on account of the death of the late President. The members of the Cabinet then one after another tendered their resignations. This formality was expected. The President made no intimation as to whether they would or would not be accepted. He simply asked them to continue to administer the business of their respective departments.

On the 23d of September, President Arthur attended the funeral ceremonies of his martyred predecessor, and accompanied the remains to the railway station. It was his wish to go with the funeral party to Cleveland, but in view of the fact that a railway

journey of such length is always dangerous, and that an attempt might be made upon his life by some fanatic, and that in the event of his death the country would be without an official head, there being no Vice-President, President of the Senate, or Speaker of the House, the Cabinet advised him to remain in Washington, and he consented to do so.

On the 23d of September, President Arthur issued his proclamation summoning the Senate of the United States to convene in extraordinary session on the 10th of October, 1881.

WHAT IT COSTS THE PRESIDENT TO LIVE.

The official salary of the President is fixed by law at fifty thousand dollars per annum, or two hundred thousand dollars for his term of four years. At the beginning of each term Congress makes an appropriation for refurnishing the Executive Mansion. The kitchen and pantry are supplied to a considerable extent by the same body. Congress pays all the employees about the house, from the private secretary to the humblest boot-black; it provides fuel and lights; keeps up the stables; and furnishes a corps of gardeners and a garden to supply the Presidential board with fruits, flowers, and vegetables. Many persons suppose that these allowances ought to be enough to enable him to live comfortably. They are mistaken, however. The President is required by public opinion to live in a style consistent with the dignity of his position and the honor of the country, and such a mode of life imposes upon him many very heavy expenses. Besides this, he is expected to be liberal and charitable towards persons and meritorious causes seeking his aid, and "their name is legion." He cannot give as a private individual; his donation must be large. The expense of entertaining the various officers of the Government, members of Congress, and Foreign

Ministers, is enormous. One hundred thousand dollars per annum would not be too much to allow him.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISITORS.

Access to the President may be easily had by any person having legitimate business with him, or wishing to pay his respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, but, as His Excellency's time is valuable and much occupied, interviews are limited to the shortest possible duration. Visitors, upon such occasions, repair to the reception-room adjoining the President's private office, send in their cards, and await His Excellency's pleasure.

Besides granting these private interviews, the President holds public receptions or levees at stated times during the sessions of Congress.

His official title is "Mr. President," but courtesy has added that of "His Excellency." It is worthy of remark that none of the Executive officers of the States of the Union, except the Governor of Massachusetts, have any legal claim to the titles "His Excellency" and "Your Excellency."

All sorts of people come to see the President, on all sorts of business. His immense patronage makes him the object of the efforts of many unprincipled men. His in-

tegrity is subjected to the severest trials and if he come out of office poor, as happily all of our Presidents have done, he must indeed be an honest man. His position is not a bed of roses, for he cannot hope to please all parties. His friends exaggerate his good qualities, and often make him appear ridiculous, while his enemies magnify his faults and errors, and slander and persecute him in every imaginable way. Pitfalls are set for him along every step of his path, and he must be wary indeed if he would not fall into them. The late President Buchanan once said that there were at least two persons in the world who could not echo the wish experienced by each American mother, that her son might one day be President, and that they were the retiring and the incoming Presidents, the first of whom was worn and weary with the burden he was laying down, and the other for the first time fully alive to the magnitude of the task he had undertaken.

CABINET MEETINGS.

The Cabinet Ministers in our Government are the Secretaries placed at the heads of the various Departments. They are the constitutional advisers of the President, but he is not obliged to be governed by their advice. It is customary, however, to lay all

important matters before them for their opinions thereupon, which are submitted in writing at the request of the President, and for this purpose regular meetings of the Cabinet are held at stated times in a room in the Executive Mansion, provided for that purpose. It is located on the second floor of the mansion, and is plainly but comfortably furnished.

The relations existing between the President and his Cabinet are, or ought to be, of the most friendly and confidential nature. They are well set forth in the attitude maintained upon this point by Mr. Lincoln. Says Mr. Raymond, his biographer: "He always maintained that the proper duty of each Secretary was to direct the details of everything done within his own Department, and to tender such suggestions, information, and advice to the President as he might solicit at his hands. But the duty and responsibility of deciding what line of policy should be pursued, or what steps should be taken in any specific case, in his judgment, belonged exclusively to the President; and he was always willing and ready to assume it."

THE WHITE HOUSE.

The Executive Mansion is situated on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the western end

of the city, and is surrounded by the Treasury, State, War, and Navy Departments. The grounds in front are handsomely ornamented, and in the rear a fine park stretches away to the river. The location is attractive, and commands a magnificent view of the Potomac, but it is not healthy. Ague and fever prevails in the Spring and Fall, and renders it anything but a desirable place of residence. The building is constructed of freestone painted white—hence its most common name, the “White House.” It was designed by James Hoban, and was modeled after the palace of the duke of Leinster. The corner-stone was laid on the 13th of October, 1792, and the house was ready for occupancy in the Summer of 1800. It was partially destroyed by the British in 1814. It has a front of one hundred and seventy feet, and a depth of eighty-six feet. It contains two lofty stories of rooms, and the roof is surrounded with a handsome balustrade. The exterior walls are ornamented with fine Ionic pilasters. On the north front is a handsome portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and a projecting screen with three columns. The space between these two rows of pillars is a covered carriage way. The main entrance to the house is from this portico through a massive doorway, which opens into the main hall. The garden front has a

rusticated basement, which gives a third story to the house on this side, and by a semi-circular projecting colonnade of six columns, with two flights of steps, leading from the ground to the level of the principal story.

THE INTERIOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Entering by the main door, the visitor finds himself in a handsome hall, divided midway by a row of imitation marble pillars, and ornamented with portraits of former Presidents. Passing to the left, you enter the magnificent banqueting hall, or, as it is commonly called,

THE EAST ROOM,

which occupies the entire eastern side of the house. It is a beautiful apartment, and is handsomely furnished. It is used during the levees and upon great State occasions. The President sometimes receives here the congratulations and respects of his fellow-citizens, and is subjected to the torture of having his hand squeezed out of shape by his enthusiastic friends. It's a great pity that some one of our Chief Magistrates has not the moral courage to put a stop to this ridiculous practice of hand-shaking. The East Room is eighty-six feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-eight feet high. It has four

fire-places, and is not an easy room to warm. Adjoining the East Room are three others, smaller in size, the whole constituting one of the handsomest *suites* in the country. The first, adjoining the East Room, is the *Green Room*, the next the *Blue Room*, and the third the *Red Room*. Each is handsomely furnished, the prevailing color of the apartment giving the name.

THE RED ROOM

is elliptical in form, having a bow in rear, and is one of the handsomest in the house. It is used by the President as a general reception-room. He receives here the official visits of the dignitaries of the Republic, and of foreign ministers. Previous to the completion of the East Room, this apartment was used for all occasions of public ceremony.

The building contains thirty-one rooms of considerable size. West of the Red Room is the large dining-room used upon State occasions, and adjoining that is the small dining-room ordinarily used by the President and his family. The stairs to the upper story are on the left of the main entrance, and are always in charge of the door-keeper and his assistants, whose business it is to see that no improper characters find access to the private portion of the house.

The north front has six rooms, which are used as chambers by the family of the President, and the south front has seven rooms—the ante-chamber, audience-room, cabinet-room, private office of the President, the ladies' parlor, and two others, used for various purposes.

THE LADIES' PARLOR

is situated immediately over the Red Room, and is of the same size and shape. It is for the private use of the ladies of the President's family, and is the handsomest and most tastefully furnished apartment in the house.

There are eleven rooms in the basement, which are used as kitchens, pantries, butler's room, &c. The house is built in the old style, and has an air of elegance and comfort extremely pleasing to the eye.

FIRST MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mrs. John Adams came to Washington with her husband in November, 1800, and at once took possession of the Executive Mansion. Her impressions of it are thus described by herself in a letter to her daughter, written soon after her arrival. She says:

"The house is upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to

attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary. The lighting the apartments, from the kitchen to parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed, and the fires we are obliged to keep to secure us from daily agues is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience, that I know not what to do or how to do. The ladies from Georgetown and in the city have many of them visited me. Yesterday I returned fifteen visits. But such a place as Georgetown appears! Why, our Milton is beautiful. But no comparisons: if they put me up bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design *to be pleased*. But, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? . . . We have indeed, come into a *new country*.

“The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all within-side, except the plastering, has been done since B. came. We have not the *least*

fence, yard, or convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying-room of, to hang up the clothes in. . . . If the twelve years, in which this place has been considered as the future seat of government, had been improved, as they would have been in New England, very many of the present inconveniences would have been removed. It is a beautiful spot, capable of any improvement, and the more I view it, the more I am delighted with it."

OLD TIMES AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mr. Cooper thus describes a dinner at the White House, to which he was invited, during its occupancy by Mr. Monroe :

"On this occasion, we were honored with the presence of Mrs. Monroe, and two or three of her female relatives. Crossing the hall, we were admitted to a drawing-room, in which most of the company were already assembled. The hour was six. By far the greater part of the guests were men, and perhaps two-thirds were members of Congress. . . . There was very great gravity of mien in most of the company, and neither any very marked exhibition, nor any positively striking want of grace of manner. The conversation was commonplace, and a little sombre, though two or three men of the world got around the ladies, where the bat-

tle of words was maintained with sufficient spirit. . . . To me the entertainment had rather a cold than a formal air. When dinner was announced, the oldest Senator present (there were two, and seniority of service is meant) took Mrs. Monroe, and led her to the table. The rest of the party followed without much order. The President took a lady, as usual, and preceded the rest of the guests.

"The drawing-room was an apartment of good size, and of just proportions. It might have been about as large as the better sort of Paris *salon* in a private hotel. It was furnished in a mixed style, partly English and partly French. . . . It was neat, sufficiently rich, without being at all magnificent, and, on the whole, was very much like a similar apartment in the house of a man of rank and fortune in Europe. The dining-room was in a better taste than is common here, being quite simple, and but little furnished. The table was large and rather handsome. The service was in china, as is uniformly the case, plate being exceedingly rare, if at all used. There was, however, a rich plateau, and a great abundance of the smaller articles of table-plate. The cloth, napkins, &c., &c., were fine and beautiful.

"The dinner was served in the French

style, a little Americanized. The dishes were handed round, though some of the guests, appearing to prefer their own customs, coolly helped themselves to what they found at hand. Of attendants there were a good many. They were neatly dressed, out of livery, and sufficient. To conclude, the whole entertainment might have passed for a better sort of European dinner-party, at which the guests were too numerous for general or very agreeable discourse, and some of them too *new* to be entirely at their ease. Mrs. Monroe arose, at the end of the dessert, and withdrew, attended by two or three of the most gallant of the company. No sooner was his wife's back turned, than the President reseated himself, inviting his guests to imitate the action. After allowing his guests sufficient time to renew, in a few glasses, the recollections of similar enjoyments of their own, he arose himself, giving the hint to his company, that it was time to rejoin the ladies. In the drawing-room, coffee was served, and everybody left the house before nine."

AN OLD-TIME LEVEE.

"On the succeeding Wednesday, Mrs. Monroe opened her doors to all the world. No invitation was necessary, it being the usage for the wife of the President to receive

company once a fortnight during the session, without distinction of persons.

"We reached the White House at nine. The court (or rather the grounds) was filled with carriages, and the company was arriving in great numbers. On this occasion two or three additional drawing-rooms were opened, though the frugality of Congress has prevented them from finishing the principal reception-room of the building. I will acknowledge the same sort of surprise I felt at the Castle Garden *fête*, at finding the assemblage so respectable in air, dress and deportment.

"The evening at the White House, or drawing-room, as it is sometimes pleasantly called, is, in fact, a collection of all classes of people, who choose to go to the trouble and expense of appearing in dresses suited to an ordinary evening party. I am not sure that even dress is much regarded; for I certainly saw a good many there in boots. The females were all neatly and properly attired, though few were ornamented with jewelry. Of course, the poor and laboring classes of the community would find little or no pleasure in such a scene. They consequently stay away. The infamous, if known, would not be admitted; for it is a peculiar consequence of the high tone of morals in this country, that grave and notorious offenders rarely

presume to violate the public feeling by invading society.*

"Squeezing through the crowd, we achieved a passage to a part of the room where Mrs. Monroe was standing, surrounded by a bevy of female friends. After making our bow here, we sought the President. The latter had posted himself at the top of the room, where he remained most of the evening, shaking hands with all who approached. Near him stood all the Secretaries and a great number of the most distinguished men of the nation. Individuals of importance from all parts of the Union were also here, and were employed in the manner usual to such scenes.

"Besides these, one meets here a great variety of people in other conditions of life. I have known a cartman to leave his horse in the street, and go into the reception-room to shake hands with the President. He offended the good taste of all present, because it was not thought decent that a laborer should come in a dirty dress on such an occasion; but while he made a trifling mistake in this particular, he proved how well he understood the difference between government and society. He knew the levee was a sort of homage paid to political equality in the person of the first magistrate, but

* This was over sixty years ago.— *Author.*

he would not have presumed to enter the house of the same person as a private individual, without being invited, or without a reasonable excuse in the way of business.

"There are, no doubt, individuals who mistake the character of these assemblies, but the great majority do not. They are a simple, periodical acknowledgment that there is no legal barrier to the advancement of any one to the first association in the Union. You perceive, there are no masters of ceremonies, no ushers, no announcings, nor, indeed, any let or hindrance to the ingress of all who please to come; and yet how few, in comparison to the whole number who might enter, do actually appear. If there is any man in Washington so dull as to suppose equality means a right to thrust himself into any company he pleases, it is probable he satisfies himself by boasting that he can go to the White House once a fortnight, as well as a governor or anybody else."

ETIQUETTE.

The social observances of the White House are prescribed with the utmost exactness. At the commencement of Washington's administration, the question of how to regulate such matters was discussed with great earnestness. It was agreed that the exclusive rules by which European courts were gov-

erned would not entirely suit the new Republic, as there were no titled personages in America, and as the society of our country was organized on a professed basis of equality. Washington caused the following articles to be drawn up:

"In order to bring the members of society together in the first instance, the custom of the country has established that residents shall pay the first visit to strangers, and, among strangers, first comers to later comers, foreign and domestic; the character of stranger ceasing after the first visit. To this rule there is a single exception. Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the [cabinet] ministers of the nation, which is returned.

"When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office.

"All other observances are but exemplifications of these two principles.

"The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all other residents.

"Members of the legislature and of the judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right, as strangers, to receive the first visit.

"No title being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.

"Differences of grade among the diplomatic members give no precedence.

"At public ceremonies to which the government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited, and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without any precedence.

"To maintain the principle of equality, or of *pole mele*, and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the executive will practise at their own houses and recommend an adherence to the ancient usage of the country, of gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another."

These rules were too arbitrary and exacting to give satisfaction, and society was not disposed to acknowledge so genuine an equality amongst its members. For some years, disputes and quarrels were frequent and bitter. In the winter of 1819, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter to Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President, stating that he had been informed that the members of the Senate had agreed amongst themselves to pay no

first visits to any person except the President of the United States. He declared that he repudiated the claim on the part of the Senators, and that he would pay no first calls himself as being due from him or his family. Mr. Adams was severely criticised for his aristocratic views, and the controversy went on as warmly as before. The result, a few years later, was, that all parties interested agreed upon a code, which is now in force, and which may be stated as follows, as far as the White House is concerned:

THE CODE.

The title of the Executive is *Mr. President*. It is not proper to address him in conversation as *Your Excellency*.

The President receives calls upon matters of business at any hour, if he is unengaged. He prefers that such visits should be made in the morning. Stated times are appointed for receiving persons who wish to pay their respects to him. One morning and one evening in each week are usually set apart for this purpose.

During the winter season, a public reception, or levee, is held once a week, at which guests are expected to appear in full dress. They are presented by the Usher on such occasions, and have the honor of shaking

hands with the President. These receptions last from eight until ten o'clock.

On the 1st of January of each year, the President holds a public reception, at which the Foreign Ministers present in the city appear in full court dress, and the officers of the Army and Navy in full uniform. The Heads of Departments, Governors of States, and Members of Congress are received first, then the Diplomatic Corps, then the officers of the Army and Navy, and then the doors are thrown open to the public generally for the space of two hours.

The President, as such, must not be invited to dinner by any one, and accepts no such invitations, and pays no calls or visits of ceremony. He may visit in his private capacity, however, at pleasure.

An invitation to dine at the White House takes precedence of all others, and a previous engagement must not be pleaded as an excuse for declining it. Such an invitation must be promptly accepted in writing.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTIONS.

The levees held by the President differ in nothing from those of Mr. Monroe's time, described a few pages back, except that the East Room is now finished, and the whole magnificent suite of apartments is used. The *élite* of the land are present, but the

infamous are also there in the persons of those who live by plundering the public treasury.

The President stands in one of the smaller parlors, generally in the Red or Blue Room. He is surrounded by his Cabinet, and the most distinguished men in the land. Near him stands his wife, daughter, or some relative representing the mistress of the mansion. Visitors enter from the hall, and are presented to the President by the Usher, who first asks their names, residences, and avocations. The President shakes each one by the hand cordially, utters a few pleasant words in reply to the greeting of his guest, and the visitor passes on into the next room, to make way for those behind him. Before doing so, however, he is presented to the lady of the house, to whom he pays his respects also. This regular routine goes on for the space of two hours, when it is brought to an end, the President devoutly thanking Heaven that it does not last all night.

These levees are no doubt very interesting to the guests, but they are the bugbears of the President and his family. The former is obliged by custom to shake hands with every man presented to him, and when the levee is over, his right hand is often bruised and swollen. It is said that some of the

Presidents have suffered severely from this species of torture, and that General Harrison's death was to some degree hastened by it.

President Arthur being a widower, and having no grown-up daughter, his sister, Mrs. McElroy, acted as lady of the White House, and her amiable way of making everybody at home, even at the receptions of the Diplomatic Corps and distinguished foreigners, will be gratefully remembered by all who have been honored by an invitation.

The semi-annual receptions of the President—New Year's Day and the Fourth of July—are brilliant affairs. At a little before eleven o'clock in the morning, the approaches to the Executive Mansion are thronged with the splendid equipages of the various Cabinet officers and Foreign Ministers. The entrance at such times is by the main door, and the exit through one of the large north windows of the East Room, in front of which a temporary platform is erected. The customs upon such occasions vary slightly with each administration. In the description given here, the order observed at the reception of the President, January 1, 1881, is followed.

The East Room and the other parlors are handsomely decorated with flowers and

other ornaments, the full Marine Band is in attendance to furnish music for the promenaders in the East Room, and a strong police force is present to preserve order when the people are admitted *en masse*.

At a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the President and the ladies of the White House, in full dress, take their places in the Blue Room, the President standing near the door leading into the Red Room, and the ladies in the centre of the Blue Room. The President is attended by either the Commissioner of Public Buildings, or the Marshal of the District of Columbia, whose duty it is to present the guests to him. A gentleman is also appointed to attend the ladies for the purpose of presenting the guests to them.

Precisely at eleven o'clock the doors are thrown open, and the reception begins. The Cabinet Ministers and their families are admitted first, and after they have passed on into the East Room, through the Green Parlor, the Secretary of State remains and presents the Foreign Ministers and their families. They are followed by the Justices of the Supreme Court and their families. Then come the Senators and Representatives in Congress and their families. The next in order are the officers of the Army, then the

officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, in full uniform, and then the officials of the District of Columbia. These personages generally occupy the first hour. The doors are then opened to the public, and the next two hours are devoted to receiving them. Several thousand persons are presented during this period. They say a few pleasant words to the President, receive a brief reply, and pass on.

The promenaders in the East Room often linger in that apartment during the whole reception. The scene is brilliant, the toilettes are magnificent, the uniforms and court dresses attractive, and the music fine. At a little after two o'clock the parlors are deserted, and the gay throng has sought other attractions.

Besides these public levees, the ladies of the White House hold receptions at stated periods, to which invitations are regularly issued. The President sometimes appears upon these occasions, but is under no obligation to do so.

During the first two years of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, he always selected a lady to join the promenade with him at his evening receptions, thus leaving his wife free to choose an escort from the distinguished throng which always surrounded her on such occasions. This custom did not please Mrs.

Lincoln, who resolved to put a stop to it. She declared the practice absurd. "On such occasions," said she, "our guests recognize the position of the President as first of all; consequently he takes the lead in everything; well, now, if they recognize his position, they should also recognize mine. I am his wife, and should lead with him. And yet he offers his arm to any other lady in the room, making her first with him, and placing me second. The custom is an absurd one, and I mean to abolish it. The dignity that I owe to my position, as Mrs. President, demands that I should not hesitate any longer to act."

The spirited lady kept her word. Ever after this, she either led the promenade with the President, or that dignitary walked alone or in company with some gentleman.

It has long been the custom for the President to give a series of State dinners during the session of Congress, to which the various members of that body, the higher Government officials, and the Diplomatic Corps are invited. In order to be able to entertain each one of these celebrities it is necessary to give about two dinners per week. The custom was not much observed during Mr. Lincoln's administration, though it has been revived by his successor.

IMPERTINENT GOSSIP.

The President and his family are much annoyed by the impertinent curiosity of which they are the objects. There are scores of persons in Washington, some of whom are doubtless well-meaning people, who are so ignorant of the common decencies of society, as to seek to lay bare before the public every incident of the private life of the family at the White House. The whole city rings with gossip upon this topic, much of which finds its way into the columns of the newspaper press in various parts of the land, to the great annoyance of its victims. There are people who can tell you how the President gets out of bed in the morning, how he dresses, breakfasts, picks his teeth, what he talks about in the privacy of his family, and a thousand and one other such private details, until you turn from your informant with the most intense disgust. It is said that much of this comes from the servants employed in the Executive Mansion, who seem to think it adds to their importance to retail such scandal. Every year this goes on, and every new occupant of the White House is subjected to such persecution.

Appendix C.

RESULT OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN EACH STATE OF THE UNION.

THE reader will find in the following pages the names of the candidates for President that each State has voted for at every Presidential election. Taking the Federalist party as the root of the Republican party, it is traced through the Loose Constructionist, National Republican and Whig parties to 1856, when the present Republican party presented Fremont, its first Presidential candidate. Taking the Republican party, as organized by Jefferson, as the root of the Democratic party, it is traced through the Strict Constructionist party to 1828, when the present Democratic party presented Jackson, its first Presidential candidate.

Alabama.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, under military rule, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872,

Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Arkansas.—First Presidential election, 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

California.—First Presidential election, 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Colorado.—First Presidential election, 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Connecticut.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, De Witt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Henry Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844,

Henry Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Delaware.—One of the original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.); Adams received one of the three electoral votes of the State. 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, McClellan, Democrat. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Florida.—First Presidential election, 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican (electoral commission decision). 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Georgia.—One of the original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, White, Anti-Van Buren Democrat. 1840, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Illinois.—First Presidential election. 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), receiving one of the three electoral votes of the State. 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Indiana.—First Presidential election, 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Iowa.—First Presidential election, 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Kansas.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Kentucky.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.), one electoral vote not cast. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Construc-

tionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat (Dem.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, McClellan, Democrat. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. At the meeting of the electoral college, Mr. Greeley having died meantime, the electoral vote of the State was cast: eight for Hendricks and four for Brown. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Louisiana.—First Presidential election, 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received two of the five electoral votes of the State. 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Jackson, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican—decision electoral commission. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Maine.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Adams, Loose Con-

structionist (Rep.) 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received one of the eight electoral votes of the State. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Maryland.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), received six of the eight electoral votes of the State, two not cast. 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, the ten electoral votes of the State were divided equally between Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans (Dems.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), received two of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), again received two of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) De Witt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.), received five of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.); three votes were not cast, Monroe receiving eight of the eleven. 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received seven; Adams,

Loose Constructionist (Rep.), three, and Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), one of the electoral votes of the State. 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.), received six of the electoral votes of the State, and Jackson, Democrat, five. 1832, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received five of the electoral votes of the State, and Jackson, Democrat, three. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fillmore, Know Nothing. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Massachusetts.—First Presidential election, 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Webster, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Michigan.—First Presidential election, 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat.

1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Minnesota.—First Presidential election, 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Mississippi.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.), one electoral vote not cast. 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Missouri.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Douglas, Democrat. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Greeley,

Democrat. In the electoral college the vote of the State was cast : for Hendricks, 9; Brown, 8; David Davis, 1. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Nebraska.—First Presidential election, 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Nevada.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican; one of the three votes not cast. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

New Hampshire.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist, received one of the eight electoral votes of the State. 1824, Adams, Loose Constructionist. 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican.

1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

New Jersey.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican, received four of the electoral votes of the State, and Douglas, Democrat, three; the latter had a majority of 4,477 on the popular vote of the State. 1864, McClellan, Democrat. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

New York.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) George Clinton, Republican (Dem.), received six of the nineteen electoral votes of the State. 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican

(Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received sixteen of the twenty-six electoral votes of the State; Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received one; Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received five, and Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), four. 1828, Jackson, Democrat, received twenty, and J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.), sixteen electoral votes. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

North Carolina.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist (Rep.), received one of the twelve electoral votes. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist (Rep.), received four of the twelve electoral votes. 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.); Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), received three of the fourteen votes. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat.

1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Ohio.—First Presidential election, 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, one vote not cast, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Oregon.—First Presidential election, 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Pennsylvania.—One of the thirteen original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist

(Rep.), received one vote. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.), received eight of the fifteen electoral votes of the State, and Adams seven. 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.); one vote not cast. 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Rhode Island.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, De Witt Clinton, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Henry Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856,

Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

South Carolina.—One of the original thirteen States. Presidential electors elected by State Legislature until 1868. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, John Floyd, Democrat. 1836, Mangum, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, —. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Tennessee.—First Presidential election 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.), one vote not cast. 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat.

1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Hugh L. White, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Texas.—First Presidential election, 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Vermont.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), one vote not cast. 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist. 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican. 1832, William Wirt, Anti-Masonic. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.

Virginia.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), two votes not cast. 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist, received one of the twenty-two electoral votes of the State. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

West Virginia.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat.

Wisconsin.—First Presidential election, 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican.



THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Appendix D.

THE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS.

THE Postmaster-General was not recognized as a cabinet officer until 1829. Those preceding this date are, however, included in the cabinets to show when they were appointed.

First Administration—Washington, 1789-1793.

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Alex. Hamilton, of New York; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania.

Second Administration—Washington, 1793-1797.

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, to January, 1794. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to December, 1795. Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander

Hamilton, of New York, to February, 1795, Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, to January, 1795, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to January, 1796, James McHenry, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to January, 1794, William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1795, Charles Lee, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.

Third Administration—Adams, 1797-1801.

President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to May, 1800, John Marshall, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott, of Massachusetts, to January, 1801; Secretary of War, James McHenry, of Maryland, to May, 1800, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Navy, George Cabot, of Massachusetts, to March, 1798, Benj. Stoddert, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Charles Lee, of Virginia, to February, 1801, Theo. Parsons, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Gideon Granger, of Connecticut.

Fourth Administration—Jefferson, 1801-1805.

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, Aaron Burr, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania;

Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts.

Fifth Administration—Jefferson, 1805–1809.

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to August, 1805, John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, to January, 1807, Caesar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania.

Sixth Administration—Madison, 1809–1813.

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to April, 1811, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, William Eustis, of Massachusetts, to January, 1813, John Armstrong, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, to January, 1813, William Jones, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Caesar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1811, William Pinckney, of Maryland.

Seventh Administration—Madison, 1813-1817.

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1814, George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, to October, 1814, Alex. James Dallas, of Pennsylvania, to October, 1816, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, James Monroe, to August, 1815, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of the Navy, William P. Jones, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1814, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, William Pinckney, of Maryland, to February, 1814, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Return J. Meigs, of Ohio.

Eighth Administration—Monroe, 1817-1821.

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, to April, 1817, George Graham, of Virginia, to October, 1817, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, to November, 1818, Smith Thompson, of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, to November, 1817, Wm. Wirt, of Virginia.

Ninth Administration—Monroe, 1821-1825.

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson, of New York, to September, 1823, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, John McLean, of Ohio.

Tenth Administration—J. Q. Adams, 1825-1829.

President, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Treasury, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, James Barbour, of Virginia, to May, 1828, Peter B. Porter, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia.

Eleventh Administration—Jackson, 1829-1833.

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, to May, 1831, Edward Livingston, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1831, Louis McLane, of Dela-

ware; Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, to August, 1831, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, John Branch, of North Carolina, to May, 1831, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Attorney-General, John M. Berrien, of Georgia, to July, 1831, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky.

Twelfth Administration—Jackson, 1833–1837.

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Secretary of State, Louis McLane, of Delaware, to June, 1834; Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1833, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to June, 1834, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Louis Woodbury, of New Hampshire, to June, 1834, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky, to May, 1835, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to November, 1833, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York.

Thirteenth Administration—Van Buren, 1837–1841.

President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia; Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, of

New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to March, 1837, Joel K. Poinsett, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, to June, 1838, James K. Paulding, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, to May, 1840, John M. Niles, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to July, 1838, Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, to January, 1840, Henry D. Gilpin, of Pennsylvania.

Fourteenth Administration—Harrison, Tyler, 1841–1845.

President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio; Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to May, 1843, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to March, 1844, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to June, 1844, George M. Bibb, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, John Bell, of Tennessee, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to March, 1843, James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1844, then William Wilkens, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger, of North Carolina, to September, 1841, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to July, 1843, Daniel Henshaw, of Massachusetts, to February, 1844, Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, to March, 1844,

then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Francis Granger, of New York, to September, 1841, then Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to September, 1841, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, then John Nelson, of Maryland.

Fifteenth Administration—Polk, 1845-1849.

President, James K. Polk, of Tennessee; Vice-President, George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of State, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi; Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, to September, 1846, then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Cave Johnson, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, John Y. Mason, of Virginia, to October, 1846, Nathan Clifford, of Maine, to June, 1848, then Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut.

Sixteenth Administration—Taylor, Fillmore, 1849-1853.

President, Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana; Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York; Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, of Delaware, to July, 1850, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to December, 1852, then Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William M. Meredith, to July, 1850, then Thomas Corwin, of

Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. Crawford, of Georgia, to July 20, 1850, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to July 23, 1850, Winfield Scott, of Virginia, to August, 1850, then Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Navy, William B. Preston, of Virginia, to July, 1850, William A. Graham, of North Carolina, to July, 1852, then John P. Kennedy, of Maryland; Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to July, 1850, James A. Pierce, of Maryland, to August, 1850, Thomas M. T. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1850, then Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, to July, 1850, Nathan K. Hall, of New York, to August, 1852, then Samuel D. Hubbard, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Rogerdy Johnson, of Maryland, to July, 1850, then John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

Seventeenth Administration—Pierce, 1853-1857.

President, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire; Vice-President, William R. King, of Alabama; Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; Secretary of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina; Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, James Campbell, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts.

Eighteenth Administration—Buchanan, 1857-1861.

President, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, to March, 1857, then Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, to December, 1860, Phillip F. Thomas, of Maryland, to January, 1861, then John A. Dix, of New York; Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, of Virginia, to January, 1861, then Joseph Holt, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson; Postmaster-General, Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, to March, 1859, Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, to February, 1861, then Horatio King, of Maine; Attorney-General, Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1860, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania.

Nineteenth Administration—Lincoln, 1861-1865.

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to July, 1864, then William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, to January, 1862, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, to January,

1863, then John P. Usher, of Indiana; Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, to September, 1864, then William Dennison, of Ohio; Attorney-General, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to June, 1863, T. J. Coffey, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1864, then James Speed, of Kentucky.

Twentieth Administration—Lincoln, Johnson, 1865-1869.

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana; Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1867, U. S. Grant, of Illinois, to February, 1868, Lorenzo Thomas, of Delaware, to May, 1868, then John M. Schofield, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, John P. Usher, of Indiana, to May, 1865, James Harlan, of Iowa, to July, 1866, then O. H. Browning, of Illinois; Postmaster-General, William Dennison, of Ohio, to July, 1866, then Alexander W. Randall, of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, James Speed, of Kentucky, to July, 1866, Henry Stanberry, of Ohio, to July, 1868, then William M. Evarts, of New York.

Twenty-first Administration—Grant, 1869-1873.

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Secretary of

State, E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, to March, 1869, then Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; Secretary of War, John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, to September, 1869, then William T. Sherman, of Ohio, to October, 1869, then William W. Belknap, of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, to June, 1869, then George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, to November, 1870, then Columbus Delano, of Ohio; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland; Attorney-General, E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, to June, 1870, Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, to December, 1861, then George H. Williams, of Oregon.

Twenty-second Administration—Grant, 1873-1877.

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, William A. Richardson, of Massachusetts, to June, 1874, Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, to June, 1876, then Lot M. Morrill, of Maine; Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, of Iowa, to March, 1876, Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, to May, 1876, then Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, of Ohio, to October, 1875, then

Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, to August, 1874, Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, to July, 1876, then James M. Tyner, of Indiana; Attorney-General, George H. Williams, of Oregon, to April, 1875, Edward Pierrepont, of New York, to May, 1876, then Alphonso Taft, of Ohio.

Twenty-third Administration—Hayes, 1877-1881.

President, Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, of New York; Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, of Iowa, to December, 1879, then Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota; Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, to January, 1881, then Nathan Goff, of West Virginia; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Postmaster-General, David McKay, of Tennessee, to August, 1880, then Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, Charles Devens, of Massachusetts.

*Twenty-fourth Administration—Garfield, Arthur,
1881-1885.*

President, James A. Garfield, of Ohio; Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of New York; Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine, to September, 1881, then Frederick Frelinghuysen,

of New Jersey; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota, to September, 1881, then Charles Folger, of New York; Secretary of War, Robert Lincoln, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, William L. Hunt, of Louisiana, to April, 1882, then William Chandler, of New Hampshire; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, to April, 1882, then Henry F. Teller, of Colorado; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York, to October, 1881, Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, to October, 1883, then Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1881, then Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania.

Appendix E.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

FROM 1789 TO AND INCLUDING 1880.

Washington and Adams, 1789.

WASHINGTON had the votes of all the States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia; total, 69 votes.

Adams had all of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, 5 of the 7 of Connecticut, 1 of the 6 of New Jersey, 8 of the 10 of Pennsylvania, 5 of the 10 of Virginia; total, 34.

Washington and Adams, 1793.

WASHINGTON had the votes of all the States, viz.: New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; total, 132.

Adams carried all these States with the exception of New York, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia; total, 77.

Adams and Jefferson, 1797.

Adams had the votes of New Hampshire, Mas-

and Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, 1 of the 15 of Pennsylvania, 1 of the 20 of Virginia, 1 of the 12 of North Carolina, and 7 of the 11 of Maryland; total, 71.

Thomas Jefferson had 14 of the 15 votes of Pennsylvania, 1 of the 11 of Maryland, 20 of the 21 of Virginia, Kentucky, 11 of the 12 of North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina; total, 68.

Jefferson and Burr, 1801.

Had the votes of the State of New York, 8 of the 15 of Pennsylvania, 5 of the 10 of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, 8 of the 12 of North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia; total, 73. House decided Jefferson President, and Burr, Vice-President.

Adams and Pinckney.

Had the votes of States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, 7 of the 15 of Pennsylvania, Delaware, 5 of the 10 of Maryland, and 4 of the 12 of North Carolina; total, 65.

Jefferson and Clinton, 1805.

Had the votes of States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio; total, 162.

Pinckney and King.

Had the votes of States of Connecticut, Delaware, and 2 of the 11 of Maryland; total, 14.

Madison and Clinton, 1809.

Had the votes of States of Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, 9 of the 11 of Maryland, Virginia, 11 of the 14 of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio; total, 122.

Pinckney and King.

Had the votes of States of New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, 2 of the 11 of Maryland, and 3 of the 14 of North Carolina; total, 47.

Madison and Geary, 1813.

Carried Vermont, Pennsylvania, 6 of the 11 of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana; total, 128.

Clinton and Ingersoll.

Had the votes of States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and 5 of the 11 of Maryland; total, 89.

Monroe and Tompkins, 1817.

Had the votes of States of New Hampshire,

Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana; total, 183.

King and Howard.

Had the votes of the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware; total, 34.

Monroe and Tompkins, 1821.

Had the votes of every State in the Union; total, 231.

Adams and Stockton.

Adams had 1 vote of the 8 of New Hampshire, and Stockton 8 of the 15 of Massachusetts.

Adams and Calhoun, 1825.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, 26 of the 36 of New York, 1 of the 3 of Delaware, 3 of the 11 of Maryland, 2 of the 5 of Louisiana, and 1 of the 3 of Illinois; total, 84 for Adams. Calhoun for Vice-President carried several States that Adams did not carry, and had a total of 182 votes.

Crawford.

Had 5 of the 36 votes of New York, 2 of the 3 of Delaware, and 1 of the 11 of Maryland, Virginia and Georgia; total, 41.

Jackson.

Had 1 of the 36 votes of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, 7 of the 11 of Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, 3 of the 5 of Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois and Alabama; total, 99.

Clay.

Had 4 of the 36 votes of New York, Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri; total, 37.

No choice by the electoral college, it devolving upon House of Representatives. A choice was reached on first ballot as follows: Adams—Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont; 13 States. Jackson—Alabama, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Tennessee; 7 States. Crawford—Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. 4 States.

Jackson and Calhoun, 1829.

Had 1 of the votes of the 9 of Maine, 20 of the 36 of New York, Pennsylvania, 5 of the 11 of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama and Missouri; total, 178.

Adams and Rush.

Had 8 of the 9 votes of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, 16 of the 36 of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and 6 of the 11 of Maryland; total, 83.

Jackson and Van Buren, 1833.

Had the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, 3 of the 8 of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama and Missouri; total, 219.

Clay and Sergeant.

Had the votes of the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, 5 of the 8 of Maryland and Kentucky; total, 49.

Van Buren and Johnson, 1837.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Michigan; total, 170.

Harrison and Granger.

Had the votes of the States of Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana; total, 73.

Harrison and Tyler, 1841.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, Massa-

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana and Michigan; total, 234.

Van Buren.

Had the votes of the States of New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri and Arkansas; total, 60.

Polk and Dallas, 1845.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Michigan; total, 170.

Clay and Frclinghuysen.

Had the votes of the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio; total, 105.

Taylor and Fillmore, 1849.

Had the votes of the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana and Florida; total, 163.

Cass and Butler.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New

Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Ohio, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Texas, Iowa and Wisconsin; total, 127.

Pierce and King, 1853.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin and California; total, 254.

Scott and Graham.

Had the votes of the States of Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee; total, 42.

Buchanan and Breckinridge, 1857.

Had the votes of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas and California; total, 174.

Fremont and Dayton.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin; total 114.

Fillmore and Donelson.

Had the votes of the State of Maryland, 8.

Lincoln and Hamlin, 1861.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, 4 of the 7 of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota and Oregon; total, 180.

Breckinridge and Lane.

Had the votes of the States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and Texas; total 72.

Douglas and Johnson.

Had the votes of the States of Missouri, and 3 of the 7 of New Jersey; total, 12.

Bell and Everett.

Had the votes of the States of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee; total, 39.

Lincoln and Johnson, 1865.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, West Virginia and Nebraska; total, 212.

McClellan and Pendleton.

Had the votes of the States of New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky ; total, 21.

Eleven States did not vote, viz. : Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Grant and Colfax, 1869.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Kansas, West Virginia, Nevada and Nebraska ; total, 214.

Seymour and Blair.

Had the votes of the States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and Oregon ; total, 80.

Grant and Wilson, 1873.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, Michigan, Florida, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, West Virginia, Nebraska and Nevada ; total, 286.

Hayes and Wheeler, 1877.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Illinois, Michigan, Florida, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado; total, 185.

Tilden and Hendricks.

Had the votes of the States of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and West Virginia; total, 184.

Garfield and Arthur, 1881.

Had the votes of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, 1 of the 6 of California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado; total, 214.

Hancock and English.

Had the votes of the States of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, 5 of the 6 of California, West Virginia and Nebraska; total, 155.

Appendix F.

HOW STATES WERE REPRESENTED IN PRESIDENTIAL AND CABINET OFFICES.

The subjoined statement shows the Presidential and Cabinet offices held by the different States of the Union from the organization of the government to the present time.

Alabama.

One Vice-President—King.

Colorado.

One Secretary of Interior—Teller.

Connecticut.

One Secretary of Treasury—Wolcott; One Secretary of War—Griswold; Two Secretaries of Navy—Toucey and Welles; One Attorney-General—Toucey; Four Postmasters-General—Granger, Niles, Hubbard and Jewell.

Delaware.

Two Secretaries of State—McLane and Clayton; One Secretary of Treasury—McLane; One Secretary of War—Thomas.

Georgia.

One Secretary of State—Forsyth; Two Secre-

taries of Treasury—Crawford and Cobb; One Secretary of War—Crawford; Two Attorneys-General—Berrien and Akerman; One Postmaster-General—Habersham.

Illinois.

Two Presidents—Lincoln and Grant; One Secretary of State—Washburne; Four Secretaries of War—Grant, Schofield, Rawlins and Robert Lincoln; One Secretary of Interior—Browning.

Indiana.

One Vice-President—Colfax; One Secretary of Treasury—McCulloch; One Secretary of Navy—Thompson; Two Secretaries of Interior—Smith and Usher; Two Postmasters-General—Tyner and Gresham.

Iowa.

Two Secretaries of War—Belknap and McCrary; Secretaries of Interior—Harlan and Kirkwood.

Kentucky.

Two Vice-Presidents—Johnson and Breckinridge; One Secretary of State—Clay; Three Secretaries of Treasury—Bibb, Guthrie and Bristow; Two Secretaries of War—Shelby and Holt; Three Attorneys-General—Breckinridge, Crittenden and Speed; Four Postmasters-General—Barry, Kendall, Wickliffe and Holt.

Louisiana.

One President—Taylor; One Secretary of State—Livingston; One Secretary of War—Conrad; One Secretary of Navy—Hunt.

Maine.

One Vice-President—Hamlin; One Secretary of State—Blaine; Two Secretaries of Treasury—Fessenden and Morrill; One Attorney-General—Clifford; One Postmaster-General—King.

Maryland.

One Secretary of State—Smith; Two Secretaries of Treasury—Taney and Thomas; Two Secretaries of War—McHenry and Stoddard; Two Secretaries of Navy—Smith and Kennedy; Five Attorneys-General—Smith, Pinkney, Taney, John Nelson, and Johnson; One Secretary of Interior—Pearce; Postmasters-General—Blair and Creswell.

Massachusetts.

Two Presidents—Adams and John Quincy Adams; Three Vice-Presidents—Adams, Gerry and Wilson; Five Secretaries of State—Pickering, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Marcy and Everett; Four Secretaries of Treasury—Wolcott, Dexter, Boutwell and Richardson; Five Secretaries of War—Knox, Pickering, Dexter, Dearborn and Eustis; Five Secretaries of Navy—Cabot, J. Crowninshield, B. W. Crowninshield, Henshaw and Bancroft; Five Attorneys-General—Parsons, Lincoln, Cushing, Hoar and Devens; One Postmaster-General—Osgood

Michigan.

One Secretary of State—Cass; Two Secretaries of Interior—McClelland and Chandler.

Minnesota.

One Secretary of Treasury — Windom; One Secretary of War—Ramsey.

Mississippi.

One Secretary of Treasury—Walker; One Secretary of War—Davis; One Secretary of Interior—Thompson.

Missouri.

One Secretary of War—Bates; One Attorney-General—Bates; Secretary of Interior—Schurz.

New Hampshire.

One President—Pierce; One Secretary of Treasury—Woodbury; Two Secretaries of Navy—Woodbury and Chandler.

New Jersey.

One Secretary of State—Frelinghuysen; Three Secretaries of Navy—Southard, Dickerson and Robeson.

New York.

Three Presidents—Van Buren, Fillmore and Arthur; Seven Vice-Presidents—Burr, Clinton, Tompkins, Van Buren, Fillmore, Wheeler and Arthur; Four Secretaries of State—Van Buren, Seward, Fish and Evarts; Four Secretaries of Treasury—Hamilton, Spencer, Dix and Folger; Five Secretaries of War—Armstrong, Porter, B. F. Butler, Spencer and Marcy; Two Secretaries of Navy—Thompson and Paulding; Three Attorneys—

General — B. F. Butler, Evarts and Pierrepont;
Postmasters-General—Granger, Hall and James.

North Carolina.

Four Secretaries of Navy — Branch, Badger,
Graham and Dobbin.

Oregon.

One Attorney-General—Williams.

Ohio.

Three Presidents—Harrison, Hayes and Garfield;
Four Secretaries of Treasury — Ewing, Corwin,
Chase and Sherman; Four Secretaries of War—
Cass, John McLean, Sherman and Taft; Two At-
torneys-General—Stanbery and Taft; Three Sec-
retaries of Interior — Ewing, Cox and Delano;
Three Postmasters-General—Meigs, McLean and
Dennison.

Pennsylvania.

One President—Buchanan; One Vice-President
—Dallas; Two Secretaries of State — Buchanan
and Black; Seven Secretaries of Treasury—Gal-
latin, Dallas, Rush, Ingham, Duane, Forward and
Meredith; Five Secretaries of War — Porter,
Wilkins, Simon Cameron, Stanton and Don Cam-
eron; Two Secretaries of Navy—Jones and Borie;
Nine Attorneys-General—Bradford, Rodney, Rush,
Gilpin, Black, Stanton, Coffey, McVeagh and
Brewster; One Secretary of Interior—McKennan;
Postmasters-General — Pickering and Campbell.

South Carolina.

One Vice-President—Calhoun; Two Secretaries of State—Legare and Calhoun; Two Secretaries of War—Calhoun and Poinsett; One Secretary of Navy—Hamilton; One Attorney-General—Legare.

Tennessee.

Three Presidents—Jackson, Polk and Johnson; One Vice-President—Johnson; One Secretary of Treasury—Campbell; Two Secretaries of War—Eaton and Bell; One Attorney-General—Grundy; Four Postmasters-General—Cave Johnson, Brown, Key and Maynard.

Vermont.

One Postmaster-General—Collamer.

Virginia.

Five Presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Tyler; Two Vice-Presidents—Jefferson and Tyler; Seven Secretaries of State—Jefferson, Randolph, Marshall, Madison, Monroe, Upshur and Stuart; Six Secretaries of War—Monroe, Graham, Barbour, Mason, Scott and Floyd; Four Secretaries of Navy—Upshur, Gilmer, Mason and Preston; Four Attorneys-General—Randolph, Lee, Wirt and Mason.

West Virginia.

One Secretary of Navy—Goff.

Wisconsin.

Two Attorneys-General—Raudall and Howe.

Appendix G.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE Presidential election will take place on Tuesday, November 4, 1884. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year, the electors by States will be as follows:

States.	Electoral Vote.	States.	Electoral Vote.
Alabama.....	10	Missouri.....	16
Arkansas.....	7	Nebraska.....	5
California.....	8	Nevada.....	3
Colorado.....	3	New Hampshire.....	4
Connecticut.....	6	New Jersey.....	9
Delaware.....	3	New York.....	36
Florida.....	4	North Carolina.....	11
Georgia.....	12	Ohio.....	23
Illinois.....	22	Oregon.....	3
Indiana.....	15	Pennsylvania.....	30
Iowa.....	13	Rhode Island.....	4
Kansas.....	9	South Carolina.....	9
Kentucky.....	13	Tennessee.....	12
Louisiana.....	8	Texas.....	13
Maine.....	6	Vermont.....	4
Maryland.....	8	Virginia.....	12
Massachusetts.....	14	West Virginia.....	6
Michigan.....	13	Wisconsin.....	11
Minnesota.....	7		
Mississippi.....	9	Total.....	401

Necessary to a choice, 201.

No Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be an elector. In all the States, the laws thereof direct that the people shall choose the electors. The Constitution requires that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. The electors shall meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. They shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to Washington, directed to the President of the Senate, before the first Wednesday in January. On the second Wednesday in February, the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number shall be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as

President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. No person, except a natural-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years. The qualifications for Vice-President are the same.

APPENDIX H.

Appendix H

POPULAR VOTE.

FOR Presidential candidates from 1824 to and including 1880. Prior to 1824 electors were chosen by the Legislatures of the different States.

In 1824 John Quincy Adams had 105,321 to 155,872 for Jackson, 44,282 for Crawford and 46,587 for Clay. Jackson over Adams, 50,551. Adams less than combined vote of others, 140,869. Of the whole vote Adams had 29.92 per cent. Jackson 44.27, Clay 13.23, Crawford 13.23. Adams elected by House of Representatives.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson had 647,231 to 509,097 for J. Q. Adams. Jackson's majority, 138,134. Of the whole vote Jackson had 55.97 per cent. Adams 44.03.

In 1832 Jackson had 687,502 to 530,189 for Clay, and 33,108 for Floyd and Wirt combined. Jackson's majority, 124,205. Of the whole vote Jackson had 54.96 per cent., Clay 42.39, and the others combined 2.65.

In 1836 Van Buren had 761,549 to 736,656, the combined vote for Harrison, White, Webster and Maguin. Van Buren's majority, 24,893. Of

the whole vote Van Buren had 50.83 per cent., and the others combined, 49.17.

In 1840 Harrison had 1,275,017 to 1,128,702 for Van Buren, and 7,059 for Birney. Harrison's majority, 139,256. Of the whole vote Harrison had 52.89 per cent., Van Buren 46.82, and Birney .29.

In 1844 Polk had 1,337,243 to 1,299,068 for Clay, and 62,300 for Birney. Polk over Clay, 38,175. Polk less than others combined, 24,125. Of the whole vote Polk had 49.55 per cent., Clay 48.14, and Birney 2.21.

In 1848 Taylor had 1,360,101 to 1,220,514 for Cass, and 291,263 for Van Buren. Taylor over Cass, 139,557. Taylor less than others combined, 151,706. Of the whole vote Taylor had 47.36 per cent., Cass 42.50, and Van Buren 10.14.

In 1852 Pierce had 1,601,474 to 1,386,578 for Scott, and 156,149 for Hale. Pierce over all, 58,747. Of the whole vote Pierce had 50.90 per cent., Scott 44.10, and Hale 4.97.

In 1856 Buchanan had 1,838,169 to 1,341,264 for Fremont, and 874,534 for Fillmore. Buchanan over Fremont 496,905. Buchanan less than combined vote of others, 377,629. Of the whole vote Buchanan had 45.34 per cent., Fremont 33.09, and Fillmore 21.57.

In 1860 Lincoln had 1,866,352 to 1,375,157 for Douglas, 845,763 for Breckinridge and 589,581 for Bell. Lincoln over Breckinridge, 491,195. Lincoln less than Douglas and Breckinridge combined,

354,568. Lincoln less than combined vote of all others, 944,149. Of the whole vote Lincoln had 39.91 per cent., Douglas 29.40, Breckinridge 18.08 and Bell 12.61.

In 1864 Lincoln had 2,216,067 to 1,808,725 for McClellan. (Eleven States not voting, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.) Lincoln's majority, 408,342. Of the whole vote Lincoln had 55.06 per cent. and McClellan 44.94.

In 1868 Grant had 3,015,071 to 2,709,613 for Seymour. (Three States not voting, viz.: Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.) Grant's majority, 305,458. Of the whole vote Grant had 52.67 per cent. and Seymour 47.33.

In 1872 Grant had 3,597,070 to 2,834,079 for Greeley, 29,408 for O'Connor, and 5,608 for Black. Grant's majority, 729,975. Of the whole vote Grant had 55.63 per cent., Greeley 43.83, O'Connor .15, Black .09.

In 1876 Hayes had 4,033,950 to 4,284,885 for Tilden, 81,740 for Cooper, 9,522 for Smith, and 2,636 scattering. Tilden's majority over Hayes, 250,935. Tilden's majority of the entire vote cast 157,037. Hayes less than the combined vote of others, 344,833. Of the whole vote cast Hayes had 47.95 per cent., Tilden 50.94 per cent., Cooper .97 per cent., Smith .11 per cent., scattering .03.

In 1880 Garfield had 4,449,053 to 4,412,035 for

Hancock, 307,306 for Weaver, and 12,576 scattering. Garfield over Hancock, 7,018. Garfield less than the combined vote for others, 313,864. Of the popular vote Garfield had 48.26 per cent., Hancock 48.25, Weaver 3.33, scattering, .13.

Summary. — Of the Presidents, John Quincy Adams, Federalist; Polk, Democrat; Taylor, Whig; Buchanan, Democrat; Lincoln, Hayes and Garfield, Republican, did not receive a majority of the popular vote. The highest percentage of popular vote received by any President was 55.97 for Jackson, Democrat, in 1828, and the lowest, 29.92, for Adams, Federalist, in 1824. Lincoln, Republican, next lowest, with 39.91. Hayes, with the exception of John Quincy Adams, who was chosen by House of Representatives, was the only President ever elected who did not have a majority over his principal competitor, and Tilden the only defeated candidate who had a majority over the President-elect, and a majority of all the votes cast.

Appendix I.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2 No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4 When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State,

chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years : and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senateshall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the

President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside : And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. 1 The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the election, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its

proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except a question of

adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power

1 To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and

inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the

seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one

State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Sec. 10. 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows :

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

[*The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the govern-

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the twelfth amendment.

ment of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot, the Vice-President.]

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sec. 2. 1 The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall from time to time give the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as

he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their service a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public min-

isters and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. 1 Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason

shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, with-

out the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of

the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the 17th day of September in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President and deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut.

Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York.

Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.

Wil. Livingston, David Brearley,
William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.

B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris, George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun'r,
John Dickinson, Richard Bassett.
Jacob Broom,

Maryland.

James M'Henry, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.
Daniel Carroll,

Virginia.

John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.

William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight.
Hugh Williamson,

South Carolina.

J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia.

William Few, Abr. Baldwin.
Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be *deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due*

process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the State, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having *the greatest* number of votes for President shall

be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

Appendix M.

DOES HIGH TARIFF BENEFIT LABOR OR ONLY A FEW MANUFACTURERS?

THE TARIFF—A REFORM NECESSARY—HOW IT WORKS—
NEED OF A FREE AND CHEAP MARKET—THE GOVERN-
MENT PROTECTS THE MANUFACTURERS TO THE DETRI-
MENT OF THE CONSUMER—PROF. SUMNER ON FREE
TRADE.

IMMENSE sums are invested in the manufactur-
ing pursuits of our country and large fortunes are
amassed by the manufacturers. We export very
little of our manufactures, the bulk being con-
sumed at home, so that the money paid for them
comes out of the pockets of our laboring people.
The cost of manufacturing is generally high in
this country, and our manufactured products can
but rarely compete in foreign markets with those of
the great manufacturing nations of Europe, which
are able to produce goods much cheaper and there-
fore to undersell us. Nearly all of our manufac-
turers are therefore confined to the home market,
and must sell their goods to the people of this
country alone.

It is but right and proper that the manufactur-
ing interests of this country should be fostered
and encouraged by all legitimate and reasonable
means. With great difficulty our manufactures

were built up, in spite of the spirited competition of the cheaply manufacturing nations of Europe. They were able to deliver their goods in the American market at prices below those at which our own productions could be sold. In order to enable the American manufacturer to successfully compete with the foreign producer, the general government imposed a tariff of duties on imported goods. This was at first limited to a few articles. Under the protection of the protective tariff the manufacturing interest of the country improved rapidly. Protection was extended to one article after the other, until we had the protective tariff of to-day, which is not merely protective, but became prohibitory as regards importations from abroad.

More than twenty years ago, to meet the exigencies of the great civil war, Congress imposed a tariff of duties on imports higher than this country had ever before known and higher than any civilized nation now maintains. The protective features of the war tariff have been retained, without essential changes, up to the present time. The act of last year framed by the representatives of protected industries and passed by Congress, to evade the demand for tariff reform, has given no actual relief. In some cases it does not only not reduce the duties, but it even increases them.

Labor and capital have been diverted by the tariff from those industries in which they produce the greatest results. The industries which can be

carried on to the best advantage in this country are checked and in many cases are shut out from foreign markets, in order that others, less profitable, may be artificially stimulated. In many branches of manufacture we lead the world, in agriculture we have an incomparably rich field.

The war tariff, no longer required for purposes of revenue, has laid heavy burdens on the laboring classes by raising the prices of imported articles, as well as of similar commodities which are manufactured at home. From the higher prices of the latter the government derives no revenue whatever. They either permanently or temporarily enhance the profits of our manufacturers. The higher prices and profits represent the money taken by the government from one class (the laborers) and given to another class (the manufacturers). High tariff gives an unhealthy stimulus to some industries and generally results in overproduction, stagnation of trade, to failures among employers, strikes and distress among the employed, and eventually benefits nobody.

The protectionists assert that our present extravagant high tariff brings about the generally high rate of wages in this country. It is absurd to suppose that taxes on the necessities of life and on the instruments of production cause high wages.

It is an undisputed fact that wages are higher in this country in the industries not affected by the tariff, in agriculture, the mechanical trades and the

self-supporting manufactures. The laboring classes, as the consumers, are the main sufferers from the existing tariff which has kept down our foreign commerce. It serves to check importation and to obstruct foreign trade. But by checking importation we naturally cut down exportation, each being dependent on the other. The result of our prohibitory policy is that our international commerce cannot be compared to that of other nations. For the ten years ending in 1880 the combined exports and imports of England were annually for each inhabitant \$95; of France, \$39; Germany, \$54.40, and of the United States, \$22.80. The commerce of Germany, with a smaller population than the United States, was during these ten years nearly 50 per cent. greater than our own, that of France, also with a smaller population, nearly 40 per cent. greater. It is an undoubted fact that the tariff has deprived us of the expansion of our commerce, which more liberal laws would have secured.

The worst feature of the high tariff is that it not only gives protection to the finished products, but it raises the prices of raw products which are used in our manufacturing establishments. Every other industrial nation admits free all raw materials. We not only tax iron ore, pig iron, lead, copper, wool, coal, lumber, hemp, flax, jute, dye-stuffs and other raw materials, but also many finished products which are needed in our domestic industries. These taxes finally are paid by the consumer.

The high tariff men have always declared that high taxes were essential to give well-paying employment to American workingmen. They never alleged that a protective tariff protected those mechanics who are mainly their own employers—the carpenters, bricklayers and masons, or sailors, shoemakers, and other independent craftsmen—but they claim that weavers, mill-operatives, and other persons employed in manufacturing staple articles of merchandise are benefited by it. But the latter have not fared better than more independent workingmen, as nearly all manufacturers and their hands will admit. Ask the manufacturer of cloth or yarns or oil cloth, or any other staple article, if free raw material would not increase his sales; if the cost of production of their articles is not largely increased by reason of taxed raw material, and if the wages of the workingman are increased by the higher price of raw material.

The starting-point in tariff reform is in widening the free list. The tariff never increased a workingman's wages, and never will. It indirectly injures the workingman in curtailing the growth of manufacturing industries. If, for instance, the tax on those grades of wool which we must import were stricken off, we certainly would feel some benefit, and there is no sheep-raiser in the land who would be hurt by it.

Our tariff, which was adopted not for the purpose of raising revenue but with reference to pro-

tection, yields annually to the national treasury at least \$100,000,000 more than is wanted for any legitimate public purpose. This should not be permitted any longer.

The friends of protection have proposed to reduce the revenue by abolishing the internal taxes on spirits, beer, and tobacco. Every civilized government recognizes these taxes on luxuries as proper and just. Would it not be preposterous to reduce or abolish these taxes while the protective taxes on the necessities of life impose unnecessary burdens on consumers and fetter the industry of the country?

It would be a hardship and unwise to abolish at once all protective duties without giving some time for industries which have been stimulated by the protective tariff to adjust themselves to the new conditions, but protection should no longer be maintained at the present extravagant point. The present tariff, with duties from 40 to 100 per cent. and more, should be greatly reduced to a reasonable basis, and many of the now protected industries can well bear this reduction.

The great abuses of our tariff system and the war taxes, after twenty years of peace and prosperity, should be abolished, and the revenue should be brought down to the sum required to meet all the legitimate expenses of the government. Speaker J. O. Carlisle, of the House of Congress, says, in a *letter* to the chairman of a Democratic meeting to

be held at New York City on the 23d of May in favor of Tilden and Hendricks among other things:

"My official duties here are so pressing at the present stage of the session that it will be impossible for me to accept your kind invitation, but I take this method of assuring you that I most heartily approve of the purpose for which the meeting has been called.

"The necessity for a reduction of tariff taxation and the consequent decrease of the cost of production was never more urgent than at the present time. The maintenance of the existing rates of taxation upon imported goods is not justified either by the financial condition of the government or the interests of any class of the people. With an overflowing public treasury upon the one hand and impending commercial and industrial depression upon the other, it is obvious that we are rapidly approaching a crisis in our affairs which may prove disastrous alike to public morals and private fortunes. A large accumulation of surplus revenue constitutes the most dangerous corruption fund that can exist in a republic. It is not only a temptation, but its inevitable tendency is to excite a spirit of speculation and fraud throughout the whole body of public officials. It is an evil which will not be long tolerated in a country where the voice of the taxpayer can be heard at the polls.

"Since the close of the war more than four-fifths of the internal revenue taxes have been abolished, while the tariff remains substantially unchanged. Indeed, on many articles of necessity in common use among the people the rates of duty are higher now than they were during the war,

while on nearly all of them the duties are much higher in proportion to the market value of the articles than they were then. Taxes upon the vices and luxuries of the people have been greatly reduced or entirely abolished, while taxes upon the necessities of life and the tools and implements of labor have been retained, and in some instances increased. Under this policy commerce has been obstructed, the cost of production has been increased and the earnings of labor have been confiscated. These taxes are not needed for revenue and they cannot be legitimately or beneficially maintained for any other purpose. There is not an instance in the history of the world in which a government has made its people rich and prosperous by imposing unnecessary taxes upon them. Every dollar taken by taxation is just so much withdrawn from the productive capital of the country and from the laborer's means of support, and therefore the plainest principles of justice and sound policy demand that the exaction should be reduced to the lowest limit compatible with the public necessities. To tax the people for the purpose of raising revenue for the public use is a legitimate function of government, and if the burden is equally distributed no citizen has a right to complain either of the tax or of its incidental effects; but to impose a tax for any other purpose is a gross abuse of legislative power, and will always provoke agitation, protest and resistance. Stability in the laws affecting the industrial interests of the people is absolutely essential to the continuous and rapid development of our resources; but stability can be secured only by doing as nearly as possible exact justice to all whose interests are affected by such legislation.

"Hoping and believing that the time is not far distant when the excessive exactions and the oppressive inequalities of the existing system will be corrected, I remain yours respectfully,

"J. G. CARLISLE."

The decadence of the American commercial marine is directly the result of this pernicious protective tariff. The advocates of free ships, said Capt. John Codman, of Boston, a large ship-owner, before the House Committee on American Shipping, are the advocates of American labor, the labor and profit of ship-sailing, which, as Mr. Roach (the owner of the largest ship-yard in the United States, at Chester, Pa.) has repeatedly said, is fifteen times greater than that of ship-building. They ask to be able to buy such ships, as they are not able to build, to have them to sail under the stars and stripes in order to employ labor that we do not now employ; to induce merchants who have not the opportunity to become ship-owners; to give our captains and officers employment under their own instead of forcing them to seek it under a foreign flag; to raise up a force of seamen who shall defend that flag when it is attacked on the sea, and withal by depriving a ring of ship-builders of only a part of their monopoly to force them to reduce their enormous profits so that in the end there will be no necessity for us to go abroad for any class of ships. In short, with injury to none, with benefit to all, to revive the American commer-

cial marine by taking at least some part of the carrying trade out of the hands of foreigners who are protected by our own laws in appropriating to themselves the whole of the business upon the sea.

The steamships employed by them for this purpose are generally vessels of over 3,000 tons, a class not as a rule embraced in our domestic coasting trade. Their admission to register would not, therefore, interfere with it materially; they would not necessitate that bugbear, paralysis of home industry, which, it is said, would close all our shipyards, and, although we have navy yards besides, would make us dependent for ships upon foreigners in case of war. He asked the committee to bring one particle of common sense to bear upon this most stupid of all objections to free ships which the ship-builders have the effrontery to flaunt before the country and before the committee continually.

Mr. Roach says positively that the balance which is against us is not in the cost but in the sailing of the ship. On the contrary, the reverse is the truth. I do not claim to know as much about ship-building as Mr. Roach ought to know, but I have had more experience in ship-sailing and a great deal in ship-owning. I have been employed in all stations of seaman, officer and captain from 1834 to 1867, having been part or sole owner the latter portion of the time.

I never knew the time, Capt. Codman continued, when in any sail or steam vessel that I have commanded or owned that we could not compete with Englishmen, so long as our ships cost alike. It was only when there came to be that difference in cost that now exists in iron ships that we were obliged to throw up the sponge. We could compete with them under all the disadvantages with which we have hitherto labored, and which are not only to be totally removed by the Dingley bill, but, by the aid of that bill and of the States which have abolished taxation on ship property, we shall actually have an advantage over them. They still are obliged to pay consular fees, we are to pay none; they pay an income tax on the earnings of their vessels, we are to pay none whatever.

Here is the memorial of the American shipmasters sent to Congress from California. They knew what they wanted. The Dingley bill gives it to them, and it gives them even more than they ask.

Mr. Roach produced a table showing that in all branches of his labor he pays more than double wages above those paid in Scotland. And yet, when you ask him how it is that he can build ships within 5, 10 or 15 per cent. of the cost of theirs he tells you it is because of the superior intelligence of himself and his workmen. He was imported from Ireland, and most of his men were imported from Scotland. I have no objection to that. I do not care how many of them come over,

nor how much they talk of the protection of American labor after they get here, nor of the pauper labor they left at home. But I do object to the implication that, because we happen to be born in Maine, or Cape Ann, Cape Cod or on the Connecticut river, our energy and our skill are not to be considered equal to those qualities possessed by English sailors, with whom we may contend at even chances, with no such disadvantages as those which foreign-born machinists and blacksmiths so successfully overcome. And so Mr. Ronch gave you to understand that, on account of our miserable inefficiency, even if we had ships given us for nothing, we should not know what to do with them.

American officers, it is said, ask for higher wages than Englishmen. They do, but they can get them only in the coastwise monopoly. In the foreign trade they cannot get them—first, because we have no foreign trade under our flag, and secondly, because our infamous Navigation laws have driven them under the British flag to sail either in British employ or in the employ of Americans who can own ships profitably only under a foreign name. I do not think much of the sentimentalism which is shocked at the idea of hoisting the American ensign on a British-built ship while it forces an American to get his living under the British flag.

It is the difference in the cost of the ship that has been mainly against us. When the Dingley

bill has passed and become a law that difference will be absolutely the only impediment that remains. Mr. Roach has stated that the margin is very small. I have always estimated it at 30 per cent. I do not mean to say that it ought to be as much, but, on account of monopoly, it is as much. Relief must come by the inexpensive but just method of giving your countrymen an even opportunity in the ownership of vessels with every other nation on earth.

There was one more point in Mr. Roach's speech to which I wish to call your attention. He stated that he was a ship-owner rather than a ship-builder, intimating that he cared more for the former business than the latter. At the same time he told you that he could not sail his ships without a "postal contract." How, then, has he grown rich under such losses? It would appear that the more ships he builds without profit, to run at a loss, the poorer he must become. The fact is, according to his own showing, the profits of a ship-builder, when he gets a chance to build a ship, are enormous, and can only be curtailed by foreign competition.

His last statement was that he could build a ship within 15 per cent. of the cost abroad. That, of course, included an ordinary profit. But when we find, as by Governor Dingley's investigations, that he charges his customers with a difference of 30 per cent., then you may add 15 per cent. to the profit already extracted from the buyer. And yet he is

not content even with that, but he wants a "postal contract," nominally for the purchaser, but in reality as a further bonus from the government to himself, for he would not contract to build a ship any cheaper than he had heretofore done because of it. And now, gentlemen, you see why we ask for free ships.

Mr. Ellis H. Roberts, of New York, in one of his lectures in Cornell University, has been discussing the protectionist theory of balance of trade. He holds that, when this balance of trade runs against a country, it is in a bad way, and that the only means of redressing the balance in its favor is to levy high protective duties, so as to keep out foreign imports. So, according to this theory, if a nation exports little it is flourishing, if only the balance of trade for the year shows that it imports still less. Unfortunately, however, for the credit of this doctrine, statistics show that some of the most successful commercial nations have the balance of trade running steadily against them. Their returns show that their imports from year to year are vastly in excess of their exports, and yet they persistently refuse to obey the theory of balance of trade and sink into hopeless commercial decay. What to the protectionist is evidence of an unfavorable balance is to them proof of successful trading around the world.

The balance-of-trade theorists maintain that there is a vast difference between foreign commerce and internal commerce. They are willing to admit, on

the evidence of their senses, that there are great and unmistakable reciprocal advantages in free trade between such States as New York and Illinois, Pennsylvania and Texas. The balances of trade in the commercial relations of these States give them no concern. They know that the balances adjust themselves in obedience to laws which governments may disturb, but cannot control. Yet, by a strange confusion of ideas, they hold that in foreign trade one party or the other is sure to be the loser, and that the "balance" shows who the loser is. In fact, this balance, when all the elements of which it is composed are analyzed, might show just the reverse of what the tariff theorist so readily assumes.

To do the balance-of-trade theorists justice, so complete is their practical recognition of the benefits of reciprocal freedom of trade that they would not establish custom houses around the rims of all the States of the Union if they could. They know that such a system would be vexatious and burdensome to the people. But whenever the trade crosses the line to Canada on one side, or Mexico on the other, the whole thing is changed. Up to the line there is no trouble. There is no question about the reciprocal advantages of untaxed traffic until the line is crossed, when the balance-of-trade theory at once goes into operation. Then trade becomes a business in which both sides are sure to be cheated unless they set up barriers for their self-protection.

Yet the duties are not imposed for support of government, since it is conceded that revenues can be obtained in other ways. If the question of government support were involved, people would cheerfully bear the burdens in order to discharge an obligation of citizenship. The duties are assessed on the avowed ground that free exchanges of products up to a certain line are advantageous, but when that line is crossed they become injurious, and must be restrained or prohibited. A barrier must be erected lest the people on both sides of the line obtain too many of each other's products in mutual exchanges, and thus turn their respective balances against themselves. Must there not be a delusion or a monstrous fallacy in a theory of trade that irreparably breaks down when an imaginary line separating the United States from Canada or Mexico is reached?

The advocates of freedom of exchange hold, that if the raw materials of industry can be obtained of better quality and less cost abroad it is better to send abroad for such materials than to force their production at home by Government interference through high duties. The latter process involves much unproductive labor, while in the former the exchange is beneficial to both sides. If, on the other hand, freedom of exchange is sure to involve loss to one side or the other, according to the balance-of-trade fiction, then the commerce and the finances of the world, with the transpor-

tation, the shipping, the banking, the business of the commission merchants, and all the other ramified departments of traffic, rest on a very precarious foundation. Reason and observation teach the contrary.

The *St. Louis Republican* says, in one of its articles on Free Commerce :

“Universal remunerative employment of the people of any country is at once the sign and the cause of ‘good times.’ The antithesis of this condition, idleness or insufficient remuneration, is the sign and cause of ‘hard times.’ Large production and large consumption imply a happy industrial state and generally a happy physical condition of the people. In a free society there can scarcely be large production without large consumption, and large consumption cannot continue for any considerable period without large production. The price of commodities is not of the essence of the matter if there is free and fair exchange. If two articles which are produced at an equal expense of labor are allowed to be exchanged freely for each other, the nominal price is of no concern to the producer and consumer. What injures the body of producers and consumers is legislative interference or some social or economical regulation or prejudice which retards production or consumption by enforcing idleness or an unfair exchange of commodities. There could be no such thing as ‘hard times’ in a country favored by nature and not over-populated if there were no interference with the exchange of products and no undue appropriation of the fruits of labor by any

class, through legal or extra legal intervention. It happens that a large amount of the articles esteemed of the highest utility to the people of the United States are produced beyond our borders at a less cost of labor than they can be produced here. To procure these, our people naturally desire to exchange for them commodities produced here at less cost of labor than these home commodities are produced abroad. The exchange is mutually beneficial. It stimulates production at home and abroad by affording better rewards to labor. It creates commerce and employs a large portion of the people in effecting the exchange, thus adding to the value of the things produced by transporting them to the point where they are desired for use. It is the theory of the restrictionists that this labor expended in commerce is lost to the aggregate producing power. If each community produced for itself what it consumes this expense of transportation would be saved. This objection is absolutely true within bounds. It is manifestly a waste of energy to ship raw materials from America to Europe to be fabricated into forms of use, and then ship them back, at the same time shipping to the laborers employed in the work abroad the food they eat and their means of sustenance while they are engaged in the manufacturing process. Obviously, it would be better for the laborer abroad to come to the raw material. But there is a wide range of articles over which climate and natural conditions are controlling. For each country to attempt to produce them would be a greater waste of energy than occurs in the case above cited. The inducements for every people to supply themselves with articles of desire by utilizing the elements

around them are nearly always so considerable and so obvious as to make the interference of the Government unwise and injurious. The advantages of the cost of transportation are always in favor of the home producer, and in every country where intelligence is general and capital abundant these advantages exclude foreign competition except as to commodities respecting which soil, climate and natural conditions outweigh them. A people whose efforts, under the control of legislation, are limited to the products which are most easily produced in their immediate locality are likely to become inactive and thriftless. To such a high state of civilization and advancement is not possible. There can be little commerce among them, and no great accumulations of wealth. These are the considerations and arguments which control the opinions of the advocates of untrammelled commerce, and who believe that international intercourse should not be hindered by taxation and burdens intended to thwart or control the keen perceptions of interest of the producers and consumers themselves."

The same ably-edited newspaper treats the subject of a tax on manufactures in the following way:

"It is a fact too plain to need a demonstration that an abundant supply of cheap raw materials encourages the manufacture of these materials into what are called finished products, that is, products ready for use. The cheaper these materials are the more liberally they will be manufactured, and the

dearer they are to that extent will the manufacture of them be discouraged. First and foremost, then, American manufacturing interests need an abundant supply of cheap materials, and the cheaper the better, for then they will be able to hold their own against foreign competitors. The height of absurdity is reached when the price of raw materials is artificially enhanced by a government tax; it makes the manufacture of them more expensive, discourages consumption, and, consequently, discourages manufacture.

" But this is the very thing demanded by a small body of men calling themselves the National Industrial Congress that met in Chicago some time ago. It resolved that Congress ought to impose a protective tax on foreign wool, hemp, flax, jute, ramie, sugar, beet sugar, rice, cotton-ties, cut-hoops, old rails, scrap iron and tin plate to stimulate the production of these articles in this country. Of the articles mentioned, wool, hemp, jute, flax, ramie, old rails, scrap iron and tin plate are the materials which furnish a basis for an extensive system of manufactures, and, of course, to tax these materials is to tax the manufacture of them. A tax on imported wool is oppressive to our whole system of woollen manufactures; a tax on hemp, jute and ramie is a discouragement to that large and growing industry engaged in making sacks, bags, gunny cloth, paper, twine and rope out of imported jute and hemp; a tax on sugar and rice increases the price of two necessities of life to the whole people for the exclusive benefit of a few planters in small districts of three States; a tax on cotton-ties is an arbitrary tax on cotton-planters, and a tax on old rails, scrap iron and tin plate is a hardship to the

hundreds of thousands of persons engaged in working these materials into useful fabrics. The protectionists are eternally urging the necessity of protecting our home manufactures against foreign competition, but the A B C of their policy is a burdensome tax on these manufactures in the shape of a duty on the raw materials they work on.

"Protection is a merry-go-round. Starting out with the assumption that consumers have no rights which producers are bound to respect, it encourages the manufacturer by incipient profits until competitive investment and over-production combine to squeeze his gains out of him. The protected producers of raw material have precisely the same experience. The manufacturers of woollen goods, if they were relieved of the tax upon their raw material not produced in this country, would be ready to enter into competition in the markets of the world with the makers of woollen goods in any other country. The farmers who raise wool to sell do not get quite as good prices for it as they did before the war. Thus both the manufacturer of the finished product and the producer of the raw material have run the gauntlet of protection from the gay beginning to the bitter end. They have overdone their home market, and must look for the future to trade not hemmed in by the lines that divide one country from another.

"The wages of labor are regulated by the price labor fetches in the controlling industry of the country. The farmer regulates it, not the cloth-maker nor the ironmaker, nor any other manufacturer. The wages paid the weavers in America would sink as low as the wages paid them in Eng-

land if the wages of farm labor were equivalently reduced. As protection lays a heavy hand upon agriculture and thus diminishes the profits of the farmer, it diminishes the wages of all labor in like proportion at the same time that it enhances the cost of living.

"The proof that protection is not necessary to the establishment of great hives of industry engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics is shown by the remarkable growth and remarkable prosperity of such establishments in England where the rate of wages has at the same time steadily increased, comparing favorably with every other country except the United States, in which the prosperity of the farmers has fixed a higher rate.

"But dropping out of consideration the wages of labor, there is no dispute as to the fact that the Government is collecting from the people a vast yearly sum of money that is not needed for necessary expenditure."

The Philadelphia *Record*, a very ably edited newspaper, says :

"No city and State of the Union have so great an interest as Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in free wool, free iron and copper ores, free coal, and other raw materials of manufacturing industry. Upon the manufacturers and workingmen of this city and State the government could confer no boon so great as to remove its heavy hand from these raw materials, so that they may no longer be prohibited from obtaining cheap and abundant supplies. By putting these materials upon the free list the government would enable the skill, capital

and enterprise of Philadelphia and the State to compete with foreign rivals on equal terms in the markets of the world. All other governments whose people make any pretensions to trade and manufactures admit wool, hemp, jute, coal, iron and copper ores, chemicals and dyestuffs free of duty. The manufacturers of this country alone are handicapped with heavy taxes upon the coarse materials which they change into forms of use and luxury.

"The necessity of creating outward markets for the products of the manufacturing skill of Philadelphia must be obvious. Great and varied as are the manufactured commodities of this city, she has rivals that are rapidly encroaching on her domain. A glance at the returns will show this. According to the census of 1880 the manufactured products of Philadelphia amounted in value to something over three hundred million dollars. The total value of the manufactures of Chicago and St. Louis in the same year amounted to nearly three hundred and fifty million dollars. It has been asserted that these returns are not trustworthy, but they are accurate enough for the present purpose. The leading manufactures of Chicago and St. Louis are the same as Philadelphia's, and those cities supply a great internal trade which is narrowing for this city every year. Philadelphia is on the outer rim of this great home market, and none understand what that means so well as her merchants and manufacturers. If there were no tariff Chicago and St. Louis would be protected from foreign competition by cost of railroad transportation for heavy freights. From the competition of Philadelphia they are protected by the

same cause. While the tariff gives the manufacturers and workingmen of this seaboard city no outlet to foreign markets for their surplus products, for purposes of domestic trade they would be better situated if a thousand miles inland. They would have cheaper and more abundant raw materials, and a widening instead of a narrowing market for their products.

"In this situation, is not a removal of the heavy tariff restrictions upon trade in the manifest interest of Philadelphia? If the inland traffic must grow less by reason of domestic competition, there are great regions beyond the seas which would afford ample markets for its surplus productions. South America, the West Indies, Australia and the new Congo region invite an immense traffic, of which Philadelphia would have a fair share. To woo this trade it is vainly proposed in Congress to grant heavy subsidies to steamship companies to carry empty mail bags back and forward to ports with which the country has no commerce. This is beginning at the wrong end. The only true policy is to strip production of the burdensome taxes upon raw materials and the necessities of living. American skill, energy, and power of organization may be depended upon for the rest. The great advantages of Philadelphia's situation on the seaboard would then be fully realized. Foreign markets would be opened for its surplus products of manufacturing industry and artistic skill. Labor would share larger profits of production and the purchasing power of its wages would be enhanced. The wharves of the Delaware would be lined with ships bearing the spoils of commerce from every sea. Give the merchants, manufactur-

ers and workingmen of Philadelphia a living chance, and they will ask no boot from any quarter."

Congress even admitted that the high duty on raw materials makes a successful competition of our manufactures on foreign markets an impossibility. For that reason a law has been passed to refund the duties paid on any materials used in such manufactures when exported. During the depression prevailing in 1878 and 1879 great use was made of this opportunity, and an actual refund was made amounting to more than \$3,000,000 in each of those years. When prices advanced rapidly in 1880 the advantage of this export trade was much reduced, and gradually it fell off as a leading subject of attention on the part of manufacturers. It can now be resumed with much better general preparation, and much superior articles; as a rule, manufacturers of metals are most favored, especially of tin-plate, sheet iron, structural iron, and many forms of steel manufactures. A large amount of such manufactures continues to be exported, with an annual refund of about \$1,000,000 paid in duties on the imported tin-plate alone, and nearly as much more on iron and steel manufactures of other kinds. The law is general and its administration under regulation by the Secretary of the Treasury, on application of persons desiring to avail themselves of it, and these regulations are not made in advance of such ap-

plication, for which reason it is very imperfectly known to the general public. Specific calculations are made of the proportion of foreign materials used in making shovels or other tools, for instance, and the refund is allowed on the ordinary designation of quantities, as 70 cents per dozen of shovels, a sum per gross on tin cans, etc. When such calculations are prepared the export quantity is certified on the invoice and the refund order prepared. About 200 classes of manufactures now actually use this law; among them, axes, bags of jute, boxes of tin, bolts and nuts, cans, copper and copper articles, cordage in large quantity, chains, wheat flour, gunpowder, guns and ammunition of all kinds, lead manufactures, linseed oil and cake, castor oil and cake, leather, locomotive tires, nails and nail rods, sugar (refined), rice (cleaned), shovels and spades, sirup, solder, wire and wire rope, zinc and zinc manufactures, woollen fabries (when wholly of wool), and many others. The official schedule of designated articles now covers four pages, closely printed, and it might be three-fold extended, even with the law as it is.

PROFESSOR SUMNER ON FREE TRADE.

In February, 1884, Professor William G. Sumner, of Yale College, lectured before the citizens of Media, Pa., on free trade. He spoke as follows:

"To come to Pennsylvania to advocate free trade," said the Professor, by way of preface, "was

similar to going to South Carolina before the war to preach abolitionism. He who would have argued that negroes were worth more as free men than as slaves would have been regarded as a theorizer and an impracticable man. Yet to-day theory has become practice there. There are two kinds of protection. One is illustrated by a story told in a Philadelphia paper of a man who asked a prominent railroad man if he did not know that the solvency of his company depended on a duty of 75 cents on every ton of coal shipped to the New England manufacturers from abroad, and if he were not ashamed to ally himself with Mr. Carlisle, who wished to get that tax removed? It is the case of a man haying another down and robbing him. Against this vulgar protection no argument need be used. Another kind is that which aims to build up 'industries.'

"What is an industry! A so-called industry that is supported by taxes is only a burden; it is worse than useless. A business that is self-supporting is an industry. An industry built on taxes is sure to fall. When an individual must be taxed to support an 'industry' that industry should die. You can never make a people rich by imposing taxes. To try to do so is equivalent to trying to raise yourself by means of your bootstraps. You can make more money out of the prosperity of your fellows than by taxing them.

"Free traders offer no generalizations that are not derived from the observation of facts. Protectionists are not up to the level of the question. They imagine it has something to do with Adam Smith or with England. A free trader cares nothing for England. It is a question of America

and American interests. There is much foolish talk about England getting into our markets. How is she to get into our markets more than we get into hers? Why shall we go and buy goods of England unless we find it to our advantage? Sixty per cent. of our exports go to England. Why, then, quarrel with our best customer? Forty per cent. of our exchanges are from Great Britain. Twenty-six per cent. of our imports are from Great Britain. How does she pay us the balance? She sends goods to Cuba, Brazil, China and Java, and receives in return sugar, coffee and tea, which she sells to us, charging us two profits. She does our banking for us and makes a profit on that. Outside of a few philosophers and humanitarians no one in England cares for free trade in this country. They have the markets of the world. Why should they desire us to enter as competitors?

"The question of protection cuts down to the very bottom of the foundation of society. To talk about protection to a man who knows anything about the part trade has played in civilization is like talking to a chemist about alchemy. It is useless to refer to past ages for proofs of the blessings of free trade or protection. Society is essentially different in this age of railroads and telegraphs. The question is how can 50,000,000 of people get the most possible out of the country. All will agree that they should live as well as they can and get as much out of life as they can. To impose taxes upon them is like striking so much out of the productive power of the soil.

"Protection must be paid for. If one cent comes into my pocket through this law that would not have come otherwise, where does it come from?

It must be taken from some individual. Does any one know of a way of producing wealth except by the application of labor and capital to land? There is no other way. A protectionist says: 'I cannot produce 2 cents worth for 2 cents; therefore, tax this man 1 cent so that I may get 3 cents for 2 cents worth.' But every man has the right to get the best that the state of the market of 1884 will allow. That industry which we all have to carry along is one that does not pay. If you can't compete with others, then don't.

If I cannot compete with some one else in running a bank, then I had better not try it. They say they will make the country rich by creating industries. What is an industry? A gymnasium is not an industry, but it is not destroying anything. A lunatic asylum is a burden on society. Nobody thinks an asylum is an industry. A fancy farm is not an industry. One may say it is worse than an asylum. When it takes one dollar's worth of capital to get one potato, the farm is using up the wealth of the country. A protected industry is exactly like the fancy farm, except that the farm is paid for by the man who is running it. If an industry doesn't pay without the tariff, then it does not pay under the tariff. If a man carries on that industry by aid which Congress gives him, then he is using other people's wealth. The biggest fallacies in the world can be hidden behind big figures. You should go behind the returns.

“Take the case of pig-iron in 1880:

Capital invested.....	\$105,000,000
Hands employed	41,700
Wages.....	\$12,600,000

Average per day.....	\$1.00
General average in manufactures.....	1.17
Product, tons.....	3,700,000
Imports, tons.....	(600,000)
Revenue.....	\$4,300,000
Tax on home product (same rate as duty on imports).....	\$25,900,000

"Deducting from this full wages and 10 per cent. on capital, leaves a net gain of \$2,800,000. The tax in 1880 was 37 per cent. on value of imports; hence we get the proportion, 11: 8 :: 89: 64.7, the value of the home product in a free market, the net loss being \$89,000,000 minus \$64,700,000, or \$24,300,000, from which deduct the wages paid and 10 per cent. on capital, and we have the sum of \$1,200,000 as the saving that would have resulted if all the men employed in this industry had been paid the same wages to sit still, and the capital been paid 10 per cent. for lying idle, while we purchased in a free market. These figures cannot be got over.

"Take the manufactures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania:

	Capital.	Hands.	Wages.	Product.
Mass	\$303,000,000	353,000	\$128,000,000	\$431,000,000
Conn	120,000,000	113,000	43,500,000	185,000,000
R. I	75,000,000	63,000	21,000,000	104,100,000
N. J	106,000,000	126,000	46,000,000	254,000,000
Penna....	474,000,000	387,000	134,000,000	744,800,000
	\$1,078,000,000	1,042,000	\$372,500,000	\$1,918,900,000
Five per cent. on capital ..				\$53,900,000
Wages.....				372,500,000

Total..... \$426,700,000
 equal to 28 per cent. of \$1,918,900,000, or, if \$1,918,900,000 contains the tax, then \$1,918,900—

$\$426,700,000 = \$1,492,200,000$. 1492.2:1918.9::
100:128; or, if the tax goes above 28 per cent., it
would pay better to pay all wages and 5 per cent.
on capital to buy off the industries; 28 per cent.
tax = 11 cents on 8 cents worth.

"If it is true that New England industries cannot live without protective taxes, then New England is not supporting herself, but is living off the rest of the country; then her beautiful villages are a bonus received from the South and West. According to the statements of the protectionists, this is true. The speaker would not admit it. As a New England man he said if she cannot live without taxing others, then let her go.

"We can never get rich by plundering each other. Is it not plain that all Americans support all Americans out of American soil? Then let each American look out for himself. But I am told it is for the benefit of the whole that I am to be taxed. When I subscribe to a charitable enterprise I want to do it on my own account. I don't want you to say I must pay to keep up this factory. Who is going to take the profits?

"A distinguished public man asked whether if New York prospered did not Missouri prosper. If he meant that New York prospered by her own unaided industry, no community in the world could fail to share in her prosperity. But if New York grows rich by plundering Missouri, how can Missouri share in New York's prosperity? Who, then, down at the bottom must pay for this thing? The different States cannot get rich by plundering each other. Nothing can result but great waste of wealth. Mutual taxation is mutual injustice.

"The industry that supports another is one able

to go alone. The lame ducks cannot carry the lame ducks. We have crippled our commerce; it was the weakest. Now agriculture bears the burden. But the farmer is told that he is saved from competition. He cannot afford to buy off competition, for it must be repeated every year. The stockholder of a railroad who rides on the road that he may increase the dividends is wise compared with the farmer who buys off competition. Our farmers need to be saved from the competition of Russia and India. They can compete with these countries only by being released from their burdens here. Mr. Porter wrote from England sad stories of poverty and desolation there. The exact logic of those letters was hard to understand. He had better have gone to New England, where he could have found poverty none the less dire because it was sought to be concealed. There, among the New England farmers, can be seen the pinching effects of the protective system. Ground down between free competition with the West and the burdens of taxation, they are abandoning their farms and leaving the country.

"They would create a market. A market is nothing but a lot of men with products of their own to exchange for other products. Will they create men? A market is 'a man who has produced something which he wants to exchange for something else.' Anything which lessens the supply of commodities lessens the market. It is, in fact, brutal and crippling. If you lay a tax on steel, you cripple a half-dozen industries. The industries of iron, steel, etc., are worse off to-day than if taxes were removed. To tax an immediate product of the earth is absurd. If you can't afford

to get your coal without taxes, then you can't afford to live here. People are leaving Ireland because it is hard to get a living there. There is no reason why they should remain. If Pennsylvania had but one industry, the people would have to live by extracting iron and exchanging it for other things. They might have nothing else and live in great plenty. If others could produce iron cheaper than Pennsylvania then your ancestors would have made a mistake by coming here. If, however, you can produce wheat and iron both and some one else can produce iron cheaper than you, let the iron come in. Those who raised wheat before will still raise it for home consumption, while the others will raise wheat in exchange for iron, and you will have more iron than while producing both wheat and iron.

"We hear much about keeping up the standard of American labor above the low level of the pauper labor of Europe. It seems that we have adopted a standard to which we must lift up our laborers. If this is true every shipload of immigrants is a public calamity. When they leave Europe they are paupers; when they land here they become Americans and must be elevated in their turn.

"How do we elevate the American laborer by means of the tariff? He looks through window glass, if not over 10x15, that costs him 11 cents for 7 cents worth; his putty 5 cents for 4 cents worth; his paper hangings 19 cents for 14 cents worth; furniture, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; paint, 4 cents for 3 cents worth; boards, 10 cents for 9 cents worth; gas-pipes, cast, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; wrought, 11 cents for 7 cents worth;

lead pipes, 8 cents for 5 cents worth; oil-cloth, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; drugget, 2 cents for 1 cent's worth; ingrain carpet, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; bedstead, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; sheets, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; blankets—the cheapest—2 cents for 1 cent's worth; linen, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; shirting, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; buttons, 13 cents for 10 cents worth; woollens and flannel, 7 cents for 4 cents worth; his suspenders cost him 19 cents for 14 cents worth; woolen socks, 19 cents for 10 cents worth; cotton do. 19 cents for 14 cents worth; woolen shirts, 16 cents for 10 cents worth; cotton shirts and drawers, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; brush, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; combs, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; soap, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; shoes (leather), 13 cents for 10 cents worth; straw hat, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; wool hat, 11 cents for 7 cents worth; watch, 5 cents for 4 cents worth; new crystal, when he breaks one, 7 cents for 4 cents worth.

“Now look at his wife. He pays for her cotton dress at the rate of 3 cents for 2 cents worth; woolen dress, 5 cents for 3 cents; balmoral, 2 cents for 1 cent's worth; rubbers, cheapest, 13 cents for 10 cents; needles, 5 cents for 4 cents; emery, 6 cents for 5 cents; cotton thread, 7 cents for 4 cents; do. linen, 7 cents for 5 cents; pins, 19 cents for 14 cents; scissors, 19 cents for 14 cents; hairpins, 3 cents for 2 cents; furs, 6 cents for 5 cents; bonnets, 7 cents for 5 cents; braids and plaits for bonnets, 13 cents for 10 cents; ribbons, 8 cents for 5 cents. If after all this he can get her a silk dress, he pays 8 cents for 5 cents worth; silks, buttons, fringes, handkerchiefs, ribbons, braid, 8 cents for 5 cents worth; sewing silk, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; umbrellas,

or parasols of silk or alpaca 8 cents for 5 cents worth; or of cotton, 3 cents for 2 cents worth. For laces she must pay 13 cents for 10 cents; real diamonds, 10 cents for 9 cents worth, but for paste diamonds 7 cents for 5 cents worth. Real diamonds interfere with no industry in this country. For the rearing of his child he must pay for infant food 6 cents for 5 cents; medicine, 10 cents for 7 cents; castor oil, 8 cents for 5 cents; licorice paste, 7 cents for 4 cents; embroideries, 19 cents for 14 cents; cotton braids, cords, gimpas, laces, 19 cents for 14 cents; for dolls and toys, 7 cents for 5 cents; sponge, 6 cents for 5 cents; soap, 3 cents for 2 cents.

Now let us follow this young couple through their housekeeping. For their brooms they pay 19 cents for 14 cents worth; mat, 13 cents for 10 cents worth; bathbrick, 6 cents for 5 cents; candles, 5 cents for 4 cents; starch, 9 cents for 4 cents; polishing powder, 5 cents for 4 cents; and (if it is needed) insect powder, 6 cents for 5 cents worth. Their matches cost 19 cents for 14 cents worth; stoves, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; paper costs 35 per cent. extra; fire-shovel, 50 per cent.; zinc, 3 cents for 2 cents; coal, 5 cents for 4 cents; copper, 13 cents for 9 cents; baskets, 19 cents for 14 cents; willow ware, 18 cents for 14 cents; wooden ware, 19 cents for 14 cents; japanned ware, 7 cents for 5 cents; pewter, 19 cents for 14 cents worth. Britannia costs 19 cents for 14 cents; hollow ware, 4 cents for 3 cents; black tin, 1 cent for 1 cent's worth; plain white crockery, 13 cents for 9 cents; glassware, 19 cents for 14 cents worth.

When the man goes out to do some tinkering he handles tools of iron or steel for which he pays 7

cents for 5 cents worth; nails, 7 cents for 5 cents; horseshoe nails, 11 cents for 8 cents; tacks, 19 cents for 10 cents, or 3 cents for 2 cents, according to size; screws, according to size, 11 cents for 6 cents or 11 cents for 7 cents; hinges, 6 cents for 5 cents; hardware, 13 cents for 10 cents; saws, 5 cents for 3 cents or 7 cents for 5 cents; pocket-knife, 3 cents for 2 cents; tools, 19 cents for 14 cents; chains, 8 cents for 5 cents; brass goods, 19 cents for 14 cents; lead, 8 cents for 5 cents; white lead, 3 cents for 2 cents; red lead, 12 cents for 7 cents; for his lead pencil he pays 14 cents for 9 cents worth; pens, 11 cents for 7 cents; ink, 19 cents for 14 cents; paper, 19 cents for 14 cents; newspaper, 6 cents for 5 cents worth of the paper itself; books, 5 cents for 4 cents; blacking, 13 cents for 10 cents; refined petroleum, 5 cents for 3 cents; crude petroleum, 2 cents for 1 cent; linseed oil, 12 cents for 7 cents; salt, 12 cents for 7 cents; garden seeds, 6 cents for 5 cents; cement, 6 cents for 5 cents; gunpowder, 19 cents for 12 cents worth; slates, 19 cents for 14 cents.

"We have corn laws in this country, and the laborer puts on his table wheat flour that costs him 6 cents for 5 cents worth; buckwheat, 6 cents for 5 cents; rice, 21 cents for 10 cents; oatmeal, 11 cents for 10 cents; potatoes, 4 cents for 3 cents; bread-stuffs, 13 cents for 10 cents; provisions, 6 cents for 5 cents; vegetables, 11 cents for 10 cents; salt, 15 cents for 11 cents; vinegar, 3 cents for 2 cents; catsup, 7 cents for 5 cents; fruits and nuts, 5 cents for 4 cents worth; pickles, 19 cents for 14 cents worth. Tea and coffee he gets free. For sugar he pays 3 cents for 2 cents worth; toothpicks, 6 cents for 5 cents. This is his "free breakfast table." He

pays on an average 10 cents for 7 cents worth of what he puts upon it.

"According to the theory of protection natural resource is a national calamity. We get tin, cent's worth for cent's worth, because we have discovered no tin mine in this country. Should one be discovered some one will get 40 per cent. duty put on. If we have a poor potato year we cannot bring them from New Brunswick or Bermuda without paying a tax upon them, yet we have a free 'breakfast table.' The average increased cost of living is 10 per cent. A man must earn his money unless he gets it from the man next behind him, and he may get it from the one behind him, and so on until the man pays it who earns it. He always pays at last.

"The tariff is an entirely impracticable thing; the only practicable thing is free trade. If the protective theory is sound, Congress must devise a perfectly harmonious system to embrace all the multilarious and constantly increasing interests of the country; something in the power of Almighty God alone. The system cannot last. Every day some one invents something else. The only way of arranging the tariff is to give a tax to every one who wants it, and as large as opposing interests will allow. The interests are so complicated that it is monstrous to think of such a theory. If you can't arrange a system satisfactorily there must be something wrong with the theory of the system. Protectionists are never satisfied with the tariff. The Tariff Commission was gotten up by protectionists. A tariff cannot be made to suit everybody except when there is no tariff at all. It would cause less distress to abolish the tariff in six

months than we have endured in 1883. A Presidential election does more injury to business. The tariff system is opposed to every improvement. Tunnel a mountain and you must impose a tax to counterbalance the good effects. The surplus is another obstacle to the practicability of the tariff. When you propose to take the taxes off you are told of vested interests. A free people cannot remove their taxes. The tariff is impracticable because of its injustice. Men will always be found to agitate against it. You can settle no question until you settle it right. When the question is put to the American people as a question of right they will say a man ought to have the right to exchange the products of his labor where he can get the most benefit for himself. We will not rest until we have not only free soil, free speech, free men, but, the climax of all, Free Trade."

No nation or community ever succeeded in taxing itself into prosperity. What a few may gain by protective taxation must be paid by the many. There are instances in which enterprising nations have advanced in spite of taxes upon their industry and obstructions of their trade, and some foolish protectionists point to this prosperity as evidence of the advantages of their system. They simply mistake a curse for a blessing.

It is asserted by the friends of the tariff that the high duties serve only to afford a revenue to the general government, and thus supply it with the means of meeting its enormous expenses. But the burden upon the people consists not so much in the taxes they pay upon the foreign goods they pur-

chase, as in the enormous tribute they pay to the American manufacturer. The bulk of the manufactured goods sold in the country are made here, and the high prices kept up by the operations of the tariff compel the people to pay to the American manufacturer an undue share of their earnings for his wares. Let us suppose that the duty on blankets was 25 per cent. instead of 90 per cent. Sixty-five per cent. on every pair of blankets would be saved to the purchaser. Instead of being forced to pay \$8.50 for American blankets, and \$9.50 for English blankets, we should pay for English blankets \$6.25, and if the American manufacturer wished to undersell his English rival, he would be able to charge but from \$5 to \$6 for his blankets. The general government would receive a duty of 25 per cent. on all foreign blankets, and the people would be freed from their tribute to the American manufacturer.

It is useless to talk of the injury to the revenue which would result from a lower tariff. The tariff, as at present arranged, is not designed for the benefit of the government. It is arranged for the benefit of a small class of capitalists, who are allowed by Congress to plunder the nation for their individual profit. The government receives comparatively little benefit from the heavy burdens placed upon the nation. The vast sums thus exacted flow into the pockets of the manufacturers.

It is to the interest of every consumer that the market be thrown open to a fair and full competition, which will of necessity result in a decline of prices. The saving to the purchasing class of the country will be counted by millions. The vast

majority of the American people will be immensely benefited, and people of moderate means, and especially the poor, will be relieved of one of their heaviest burdens.

There is no good reason why the entire nation should be compelled to pay prices out of all proportion to the value of the article purchased, in order that a few manufacturers may amass large fortunes in an unnaturally short period. The people have the right to arrange their industrial system so that they shall pay a fair price for their purchases and no more. They have a right to protect themselves from robbers and plunderers, under whatever guise these enemies may assail them.

Theoretically, the people are the source of power under our system of government, and Presidents and Congressmen are but their servants, charged with the execution of their wishes. But is this so in practice? Is the Congress of the United States the true exponent of the popular will? Do the people really sanction the "land grab," the Credit Mobilier swindle, the numerous jobs and schemes which plunder the people, and enrich a few unscrupulous individuals, and which bear the stamp of Congressional approval? Are the people really engaged in robbing themselves? It is absurd to ask the question.

Appendix N.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BEFORE the year 1831 there was no national assemblage of party men, for the nomination of President and Vice-President, held in the United States. In this year a Convention was held by the anti-Masonic party, the principles of which were, in everything excepting antagonism to the Masonic order, the same as the Whigs. Henry Clay, a Mason, was the candidate of the Whigs, and this led to the independent action of those antagonizing the Masonic cause. In the following year the Democrats as well as the Whigs inaugurated the National Convention system. Prior to 1832 the legislatures of the States expressed their preferences, or the nominations were made by an understanding, that each party would support candidates for President and Vice-President who were entitled to such high honor on account of their distinguished services. Up to the year 1800 the two candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes were declared President and Vice-President of the United States respectively.

That year Congressional caucuses nominated two candidates for President, in order that one of them

should be second highest and become Vice-President. Congressional, legislative and other caucuses of leading party men were held until superseded by National Conventions in 1832.

Taking the anti-Federalist party of Jefferson as the root of the present Democratic party, it is followed down through the Republican-Democratic party and the Jackson men in their different caucuses, conventions, etc.

The anti-Federalist party, in 1792, supported Washington for President in common with practically all others of no matter what sentiment on national affairs. Supported George Clinton of New York for second place, as against John Adams.

The Republican party supported Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in 1796.

The Republican Congressional caucus nominated Jefferson and Burr in 1800.

The Republican party supported Jefferson and George Clinton of New York in 1804.

The Republican Congressional caucus nominated James Madison and George Clinton in 1808.

The Republican Congressional caucus, in 1812, renominated Madison, with Gerry, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The Republican Congressional caucus, in 1816, nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

The Republicans, in 1820, made no nomination. No opposition to Monroe and Tompkins.

The Strict Constructionists, in 1824, made no nominations. Party divided in support of Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, supported by nearly all for Vice-President.

The Democratic party, in 1828, supported Jackson, of Tennessee, and Calhoun, of South Carolina, for President and Vice-President.

The Democratic National party, met at Baltimore, May 12, 1832. General Linn was unanimously elected permanent president, and John A. Dix permanent secretary. On the first ballot the States voted as follows: Maine 10 for Van Buren, New Hampshire 7, Massachusetts 14, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 8, Vermont 7, New York 12, New Jersey 8, Pennsylvania 30, Delaware 3, and Maryland 7, and 3 for Barbour, of Virginia. Virginia voted 23 for Barbour, and North Carolina 9 for Van Buren and 6 for Barbour, South Carolina 11 for Barbour, Georgia 11 for Van Buren, Alabama 1 Van Buren, 6 Barbour, Mississippi 1 Van Buren, Louisiana 5, Tennessee 15, Ohio 21, Illinois 2 Van Buren and 2 R. M. Johnson: Kentucky voted solid for Johnson, and Indiana 9 for Johnson. Van Buren 208, Barbour 49, Johnson 26. The convention adopted a strong resolution indorsing the nomination of A. Jackson for President.

The Democratic National party met at Baltimore, May, 1836 —Called to order by Hon. George Creamer, of Pennsylvania. Hon. Andrew Steven

son, of Virginia, appointed president. Of the different State delegations appointed to attend the convention, that of Illinois was unable to be present, but sent a series of resolutions, in which they were instructed to vote for Martin Van Buren, of New York, for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. On the third day, a resolution that the votes of two-thirds of the delegates should be required to constitute a nomination was carried. States represented: Maine 10, New Hampshire 7, Vermont 7, Massachusetts 14, Connecticut 8, Rhode Island 4, New York 42, New Jersey 8, Delaware 3, Pennsylvania 30, Maryland 10, Virginia 23, North Carolina 15, Georgia 11, Tennessee 15, Ohio 21, Indiana 9, Mississippi 4, Louisiana 5, Missouri 4,—total 265—all of which were voted for M. Van Buren for President of the United States on the first ballot. For Vice-President Johnson received the votes of New Hampshire, Vermont, 4 of the 10 of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri; W. C. Rives, of Virginia, received the votes of Maine, 10 of Massachusetts, 10 of Maryland, 23 Virginia, 15 North Carolina, 11 Georgia—total 86.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 5, 1840.—Gov. William Carroll, of Tennessee, president. Delegates present from 21 States. On the 6th a resolution was unanimously

adopted nominating Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. Another resolution declaring it expedient to waive nomination for Vice-President, and leave it for each State to nominate its own candidate for Vice-President was passed.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844.—Hon. R. M. Sanders, of North Carolina, called the convention to order. Henry B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, chairman. Twenty-five States represented, South Carolina sending no delegation. On the first ballot Van Buren received 146 votes, 2d 127, 3d 121, 4th 111, 5th 103, 6th 101, 7th 99. Johnson, 1st 24, 2d 33, 3d 38, 4th 32, 5th 29, 6th 23, 7th 21. Buchanan, 1st 4, 2d 9, 3d 11, 4th 17, 5th 26, 6th 25, 7th 22. Cass, 1st 83, 2d 94, 3d 92, 4th 105, 5th 107, 6th 116, 7th 123. There were 266 delegates, requiring 178 votes to nominate. On the eighth ballot Van Buren received 104, Cass 114, Polk 41, Buchanan 2, Calhoun 2. On the ninth James K. Polk received every vote in convention: Maine 9, New Hampshire 6, Massachusetts 12, Connecticut 6, Rhode Island 4, New York 36, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 26, Delaware 3, Maryland 8, Virginia 17, North Carolina 11, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 6, Louisiana 6, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 13, Ohio 23, Michigan 5, Indiana 12, Illinois 9, Missouri 7, Arkansas 3. For the Vice-Presidency Silas Wright, of New York, was declared the nominee, receiving unanimous vote

of all States except Georgia, which gave 2 for Wright and 8 for Levi Woodbury. Mr. Wright declined the nomination next day. On first ballot Fairfield, of Maine, received 87; Woodbury, of New Hampshire, 56; Cass, of Michigan, 29; Johnson, of Kentucky, 26; Stewart 23, Dallas 13, Marcy 5. On third ballot Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was nominated by a vote of 220, by 30 for Fairfield and 6 for Woodbury.

The National party, Tyler, met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844.—M. Shaler, of New York, chairman. Joel W. White, of Connecticut, was subsequently made president. Convention appointed a committee of seven to designate a candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Tyler, but Tyler subsequently withdrew, and that was the end of the convention.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 22, 1848.—Hon. J. S. Brice, of Louisiana, temporary chairman. Twenty-nine States represented. Permanent chairman, Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia. Among the delegates from New York to this convention was Mr. Tilden. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was another delegate. Four ballots were cast: Buchanan receiving on 1st 55, 2d 54, 3d 40, 4th 33. Woodbury, 1st 53, 2d 56, 3d 53, 4th 38. Cass, 1st 125, 2d 133, 3d 156, 4th 179, who was declared the nominee. There being 251 votes, 168 were required to nominate. Dallas, Calhoun and Worth received scatter-

ing votes on the different ballots. William O. Butler, of Kentucky; General John A. Quitman, of Mississippi; Gen. B. D. Howard, of Maryland; John Y. Mason, of Virginia; William R. King, of Alabama; James J. McKaig, of North Carolina, were nominated for Vice-President. Gen. Howard declined being considered a candidate, and on the first ballot Butler received 114, Quitman 74, Mason 24, King 26, and McKaig 13. On the second, Butler 167, Quitman 61, Mason 5, King 9, McKaig 11. Numerous changes of votes were made, and Butler finally nominated unanimously.

Free-Soil party, met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848. —Nathaniel Sawyer, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, permanent chairman. On first ballot, taken August 10, Van Buren was nominated by 154 to 129 for Mr. Hale, and Charles Francis Adams nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Democratic party, met at Baltimore, June 1, 1852.—Called to order by B. F. Hallett, of Massachusetts, chairman of National Democratic Committee. Gen. Romulus Sanders, of North Carolina, president *pro tem*. Thirty States represented, South Carolina sending no delegation. Among the delegates were Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Hendrick B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, H. A. Wise, of Virginia, Montgomery Blair, of Missouri, Thurman, of Ohio. Permanent president, John W. Davis, of Indiana.

Pierce received his first votes on the 35th ballot, Virginia voting solid for him. On the 36th Maine added 8, New Hampshire 5, and Tennessee 2. On the 37th Tennessee's 2 left him and voted for Cass, while 1 Massachusetts was added to Pierce, making it 29. It stood at this to the 46th ballot, when Maryland gave him 3 and Kentucky 12, making his total 44. On the 47th 3 more Massachusetts votes were cast for him and 2 more Maryland votes, carrying it up to 49. On the 48th Rhode Island voted 4 for him, and on the 49th Pierce received every vote except 1 blank in Ohio, 2 for Cass in Ohio, 2 for Douglas in Ohio, and 1 for Butler in Ohio. Balloting commenced Thursday, June 3, and concluded on Monday, June 7.

	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.		Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.
1.....	116	93	20	27	16.....	90	57	51	26	....
2.....	118	95	23	27	17.....	99	57	50	26	....
3.....	119	94	21	26	18.....	96	55	56	25	....
4.....	115	89	31	25	19.....	89	55	63	26	....
5.....	114	88	34	26	20.....	81	92	64	26	....
6.....	114	88	34	26	21.....	60	102	64	26	....
7.....	113	88	34	26	22.....	43	104	77	26	....
8.....	113	88	34	26	23.....	37	103	78	26	....
9.....	112	87	39	27	24.....	33	103	80	26	....
10.....	111	86	40	27	25.....	34	101	79	26	....
11.....	101	87	50	27	26.....	33	101	80	26	....
12.....	98	88	51	27	27.....	32	98	85	26	....
13.....	98	88	51	26	28.....	28	96	88	26	....
14.....	90	87	51	26	29.....	27	93	91	26	....
15.....	90	87	51	26	30.....	33	91	92	26	....

	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.		Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.
31...	65	78	92	26	...	41...	107	27	33	85	29
32...	98	74	80	26	...	42...	101	27	33	91	29
33...	123	72	60	25	...	43...	101	27	33	91	29
34...	130	49	53	33	...	44...	101	27	33	91	29
35...	131	39	52	44	15	45...	101	27	33	91	29
36...	122	28	43	58	30	46...	78	28	32	98	44
37...	120	28	34	70	29	47...	75	28	33	95	49
38...	107	28	34	83	29	48...	73	28	33	89	55
39...	106	28	33	85	29	49...	2	0	2	0	283
40...	107	27	33	85	29						

For Vice-President there were ten nominations, William R. King, of Alabama, leading with 126 votes on 1st ballot, and he was nominated on 2d ballot, there being 270 votes cast for him. Eleven votes were cast for Jefferson Davis by the State of Illinois.

Free Soilers' Convention, met at Pittsburgh, August 11, 1852.—Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Fred. Douglas, Secretary. Among the delegates were Joshua Giddings and Gerritt Smith. Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, permanent chairman.

John P. Hale was nominated on 1st ballot, receiving 192 votes.

Geo. W. Julian, of Indiana, nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Democratic Party, met at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and called to order by Hon. R. McLean, of Maryland. Hon. Samuel Medairy, of Ohio, tem-

porary chairman, Mr. English, of Indiana, reading the call for the convention. All the States in the Union represented by delegates. General John E. Ward, of Georgia, President. Convention did not commence balloting until the afternoon of the fourth day of the session. On twelve ballots Buchanan had 135, 139, 141, 140, 155, 143, 147, 146, 150, 147, 148; Pierce, 112, 119, 119, 119, 119, 107, 89, 87, 87, 80, 79; Douglas, 33, 31, 32, 30, 31, 28, 53, 56, 56, 59, 63, 63. Adjourned until next day, when balloting was resumed. On the 13th Buchanan had 130, on the 14th 152, 15th 168, 16th 168, and on 17th was nominated by 206, and which was made unanimous by the convention. Pierce received on the 13th 77, 14th 79, 15th 3; Douglas, 13th 63, 14th 63, 15th 118, 16th 121. Cass received from 4 to 7 votes on every ballot from the 1st to 16th.

On the 1st ballot for Vice-President Breckinridge, of Kentucky, received 55 votes, Quitman leading with 65; on 2d ballot the vote was unanimous for Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and he was declared nominated.

Democratic party, met at Charleston, April 23, 1860, and called to order by Judge Smalley, of South Carolina. Hon. Caleb Cushing, permanent President. Among the delegates were Butler, of Massachusetts; Payne, of Ohio; Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and Bayard, of Delaware.

On May 21, the delegations from Alabama, Lou-

isiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Florida and Mississippi withdrew from the convention. On the next day Georgia withdrew, and that afternoon the first ballot was reached. For President, Douglas received 145½ votes, receiving the solid vote of New York, Ohio, Oregon, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Guthrie had 36½, Dickinson 7, Lane 6, Hunt 42, Johnson 12, Davis 1, Pierce 1, Toucey 2½. The Douglas vote changed very little on the twelve ballots taken that day, having 150½ on the 12th. There was but very little change in any of the ballots, and practically the 12th was the same as the 1st.

The seceding delegations met same evening, calling Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, to the chair, but on account of physical disability Hon. J. C. Preston became chairman.

On Wednesday 43 more ballots were taken, with practically no change, Douglas on the 55th having 151½, just one more vote than on the 12th. Guthrie on the 55th had 65½, Hunter 20½, and the rest scattering. On Thursday no additional ballots were taken, and the convention finally adjourned to meet in Baltimore on June 18.

The seceding delegates convened same day, with Senator Bayard, of Delaware, in the chair, and finally a resolution was carried for a Southern Convention to be held in Richmond the second Monday in June.

Seceders' Convention called to order by Senator

Lubrick. All the seceding States were represented but Delaware. John Irwin, of Alabama, permanent chairman. Convention adjourned next day to await result of Baltimore Convention.

Baltimore Convention, June 18, 1860.—Hon. Caleb Cushing, permanent chairman. On the fourth day several of the seceding delegations were readmitted, when there was another secession movement culminating in the withdrawal of Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. On Saturday afternoon balloting was reached, with 22 States in the convention, as follows: Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Minnesota, California, and Oregon, casting 105 votes, all of which were for John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who was thus unanimously nominated. Jos. Lane, of Oregon, was nominated for Vice-President on first ballot, receiving 105 votes.

The seceding delegates held convention in Baltimore on the same date, and proceeded to ballot, with the following result on the first vote: Douglas 17½, Guthrie 9, Breckinridge 5, and 1 for Seymour, and 1 for Beech; twenty-five States voting, as follows: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Ar-

kansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, was nominated for Vice-President by unanimous vote on first ballot.

The National Democratic Convention met at Chicago, August 29, 1864, and was called to order by August Belmont; Horatio Seymour, permanent president. Following States represented: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, California, Oregon, Maine, Delaware and Maryland. McClellan was nominated on first ballot, by a vote of 202½ to 23½ for Seymour. Of the latter votes Delaware cast 3, Maryland 7, Ohio 6, Indiana 3½, Missouri 4. For Vice-President, on first ballot Guthrie received 65½, Pendleton 54½, Voorhees 13, Cass 26, Dodge 9, Carter 16, Powell 32½, and Phillips 8. On second ballot New York changed from Guthrie, and threw its whole vote to Pendleton. Other candidates were withdrawn, and Pendleton unanimously elected.

The National Democratic Convention met at New York, July 4, 1868, and was called to order by August Belmont, Hon. Henry S. Palmer, of Wisconsin, temporary chairman. Horatio Seymour, of New York, permanent president. First ballot, Pendleton 105, Hancock 33½, Johnson 65, English

16, Hendricks 24, Reverdy Johnson 84, Doolittle 13, Parker 13, Packer 36, Church 23. Whole number cast 313, necessary to a choice 212. On the second ballot Texas changed from Johnson to Hancock, Virginia gave F. P. Blair 10. On third ballot Virginia went to Pendleton with 10 votes. On fourth ballot remained about the same. On fifth Florida left Hancock and went to Doolittle, Michigan changed from Reverdy Johnson to Hendricks, North Carolina split her vote and gave Hancock majority of it, Georgia added 9 to Blair, and Arkansas 3 to Pendleton, Indiana went to Pendleton, increasing his vote to 122. On sixth ballot very little change. Adjourned to next day. On seventh ballot Pendleton gained 15. Eighth ballot New York cast 33 votes for Hendricks, and Louisiana went from Hancock to Pendleton, Mississippi voted solid for Pendleton, increasing his vote to 156½ to 75 for Hendricks, others scattering. On the ninth ballot Pendleton dropped off to 144, and Hendricks went up to 80½. Tenth ballot Hendricks gained 2, Pendleton 3. Eleventh ballot Pendleton lost 3, and Hendricks gained 5. Twelfth ballot about the same. Thirteenth ballot but little change. Fourteenth ballot Nebraska went from Pendleton to Hendricks, Tennessee dropped Johnson, and divided his vote between Pendleton and Hendricks, Pennsylvania cast 26 for Hancock, carrying his vote to 56. Fifteenth ballot Pendleton 129½, Hancock 79½, Hendricks 82½. Sixteenth ballot Arkansas

changed from Pendleton to Hancock, Georgia ditto, Louisiana, Mississippi and Missouri gave him 2 additional votes. Maryland gave him 5½ of her 7. At the close of the ballot Hancock led with 113½. Pendleton 107½, Hendricks 70½, others scattering. On seventeenth ballot Alabama changed to Hancock, Arkansas, Connecticut and other States centring on him; result as announced, Hancock 137½, Pendleton 70½, Hendricks 80. On eighteenth ballot Illinois cast her solid vote for Hendricks, and on the result put Hancock in the lead with 144½, and Pendleton third man. Adjourned until next day. Nineteenth ballot Connecticut returned to English and Delaware went to Hancock, Tennessee cast her entire vote for Hancock, Pennsylvania cast 26 for him; result, Hancock had lost 9 votes on last vote of previous day and Hendricks had gained. On twentieth ballot Pendleton having withdrawn, Hancock went up again to 142½, and Hendricks 121. On the twenty-first Hancock was still in the lead, with, however, but 3½ votes ahead of Hendricks. On twenty-second ballot Ohio nominated Seymour, giving him her solid vote. Seymour declined. On the twenty-third ballot Hendricks went to the front with 145½, Hancock 123½, Seymour 45. Before result was announced State after State changed from Hendricks and Hancock, and thence to Seymour, and he received the unanimous vote of the convention, 317 votes, and was declared nominated. The highest vote received by Pendle-

ton during the contest was 156½, the highest for Hendricks 115. Hancock 141½.

Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, nominated for Vice-President by unanimous vote of the convention.

The Liberal Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872. Col. Grosvenor, of St. Louis, called the convention to order; Judge Stanley Matthews, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Permanent president, Carl Schurz. First ballot, Adams 203, Trumbull 108, Davis 92½, Greeley 147. Brown 98, Curtin 62, Chase 24, Sumner 1. Second ballot, Greeley 245, Adams 243, Trumbull 148, Davis 81, balance scattering; whole vote 714, necessary to choice 358. On third ballot Greeley gained 13, Trumbull 8, Adams went to head with 264. Fourth ballot with little change. Fifth ballot Adams had reached 309, Greeley remaining same as on third. Sixth ballot Adams went to 324, and Greeley to 332; before vote was announced McClure changed Pennsylvania from Adams to 50 for Greeley, and other States followed suit, and Greeley was nominated.

Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was nominated on first ballot by vote of 435 to 175 for Julian, 75 for Walker, 36 for Tipton, and 8 for Palmer.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, July 9, 1872, and was called to order by August Belmont. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, temporary chairman; Senator Doolittle, permanent

chairman. Nominations of Greeley and Brown indorsed.

The National Democratic Convention met at St. Louis, June 27, 1876, and was called to order by August Schell, of New York; Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, temporary chairman; Gen. John A. McClelland, of Illinois, permanent president. 492 votes necessary to a choice, under two-thirds rule. First ballot, Tilden 403½, Hendricks 133½, Hancock 75, Allen 56, Bayard 27, Parker 18. On second ballot Tilden had 535, Hendricks 60, Allen 54, Hancock 59, Thurman 22, Bayard 11, and Parker 18. Before ballot was announced Missouri changed her vote to 16 for Tilden and 14 for Hendricks, Iowa changed her vote from Hancock to Tilden, and Illinois to 24 for Tilden and 18 for Hendricks, North Carolina changed to 19 for Tilden and 1 for Hancock. Tilden's nomination made unanimous.

Adjourned, and on the next day Hendricks was nominated on first ballot by all the votes in the convention, 738, to 8 blank.

The National Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, and was called to order by Senator Barnum, of Connecticut; Hon. George Hoadley, of Ohio, temporary chairman; J. W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, permanent president. First ballot, Hancock 171, Bayard 153½, Field 65, Morrison 64, Hendricks 50½, Thurman 68½, Payne 81, Tilden 37. Adjourned until next day. Whole

number of delegates 738, necessary to choice 554. Second ballot Hancock 320, Bayard 113, Field 165½, Hendricks 31, Thurman 50, Tilden 6, Randall 125½, English 19; but before result was announced State after State changed its vote, and the ballot as finally announced was Hancock 705, Bayard 2, Hendricks 30.

W. H. English, of Indiana, nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The National Democratic Convention met at Chicago, July 8, 1884, and was called to order by Chairman Barnum, of the National Democratic Committee. Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, temporary chairman; Col. W. H. Vilas, of Wisconsin, permanent President. Whole number of Delegates 820; necessary to a choice 547, under the two-thirds rule.

First ballot, Cleveland 392; Bayard 170; Thurman 88; Randall 78; McDonald 56; Carlisle 27; Hoadly 3; Tilden 1; Flower 4; Hendricks 1. Second ballot, Cleveland 683; Bayard 81½; Hendricks 45½; Randall 4; Thurman 4; McDonald 2.

The Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-President by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

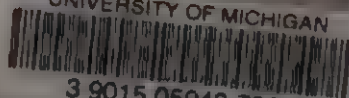








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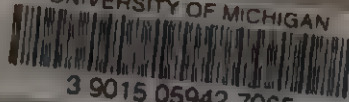
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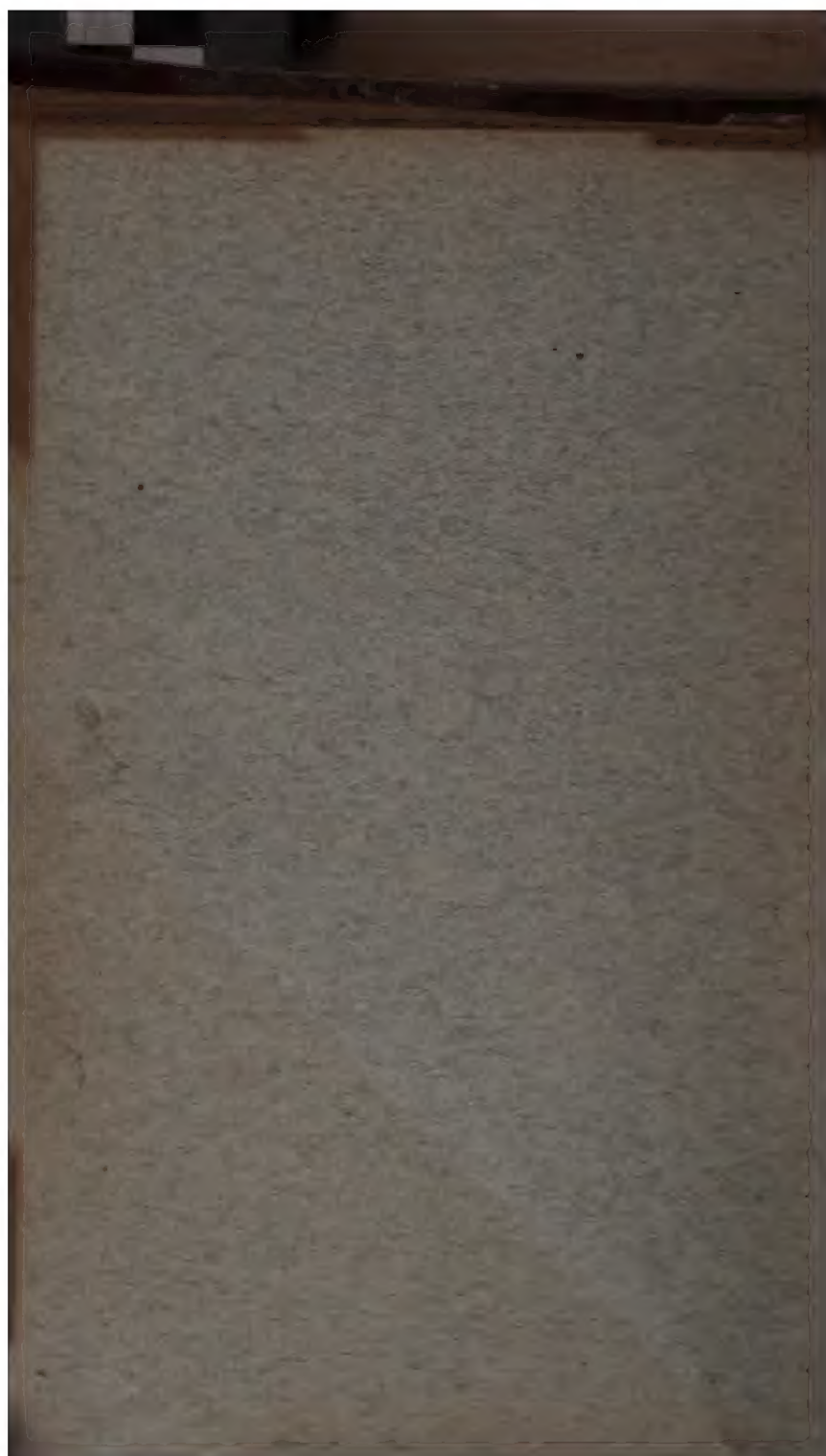
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